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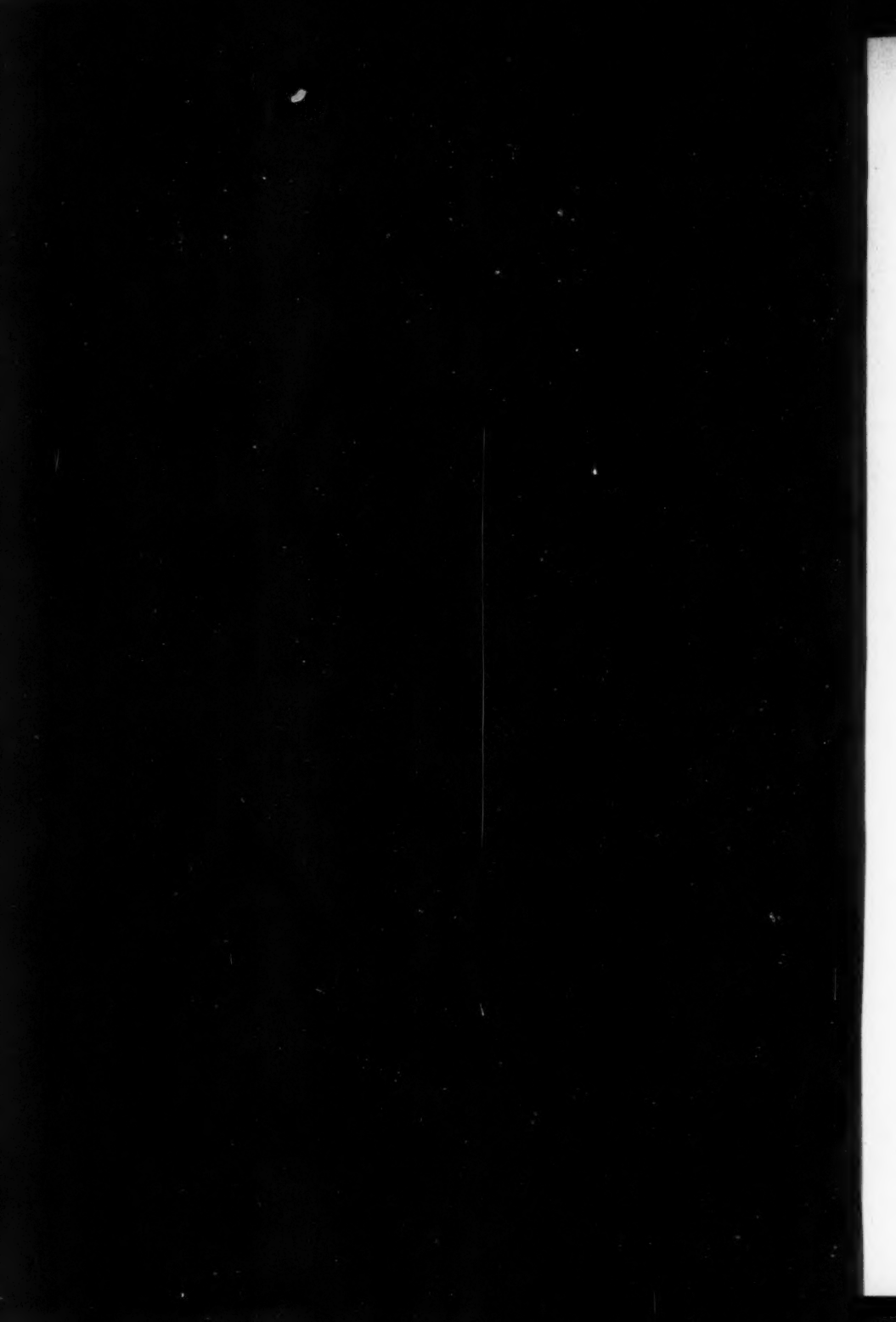
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THE
DUBLIN REVIEW.

JULY 1895.

ART. I.—SCIENCE IN FETTERS.

PART II.

IN the former part of our article,* we called special attention to one set of those sensuous impediments which render difficult a truly scientific grasp of various important truths, because our nature (at once corporeal and intellectual) only enables us to estimate and allow for the influence of phantasmata of the imagination and does not permit us for one moment to dispense with the use of them.

After reminding our readers of the fundamental difference between sensuous and intellectual perceptions and the necessary supremacy of the intellect, we proceeded to select, as our preliminary illustration of such impediments due to the imagination, difficulties which thence arise in the science of biology. We referred especially to conceptions of the Soul of Man and of those active immaterial principles of individuation which our intellect reveals to us as the probable source of those wonderful vital processes that take place in ourselves and in the world of animals and plants amongst which we live.

It is a similar kind of impediment which makes it so difficult to most of our modern men of science to accept the idea of creation (whether of different kinds of living creatures or of the whole material universe), or indeed a belief in any real Divine Action upon nature. This difficulty, however, will

* See the DUBLIN REVIEW of January, 1895, p. 158.

be most conveniently considered in treating of theological rather than biological truths.

Towards the conclusion of the former part of this paper we spoke of the tendency of naturalists to propose hypotheses asserting the existence of very small particles (gemmules, biophors, plastidules, idiosomes and what not) in a vain endeavour to relieve themselves, by the help of the imagination, of the necessity of accepting truths incapable of being mentally visualised.

This tendency is but one far more general and which is common amongst men of science who know nothing of biology, but are only physicists (as well amongst men who are both), to regard the universe as ultimately consisting of minute solid particles in motion.

Thus Haeckel, in his *Monism*,* tells us—

Modern physics and chemistry have indeed in the main accepted the atomic hypothesis first enunciated by Democritus, in so far as they regard all bodies as built up of atoms, and reduce all changes to movements of these minutest discrete particles The idea steadily gains ground that no such thing as empty space exists,† and that everywhere the primitive atoms of ponderable matter or heavy "mass" are separated from each other by the homogeneous ether which extends throughout all space. This extremely light and attenuated (if not imponderable) ether causes, by its vibrations, all the phenomena of light and heat, electricity and magnetism. We can *imagine* it‡ either as a continuous substance occupying the space between the mass-atoms or as composed of separate particles; in the latter case you might perhaps attribute to these ether-atoms an inherent power of repulsion in contrast to the immanent attracting power of the heavy mass-atoms, and the whole mechanism of cosmic life would then be reducible to the attraction of the latter and the repulsion of the former.

Haeckel is admirable as serving so exceptionally well to warn us against the extravagances of any ordinary physicists, since he may be said to be a sort of Spartan Helot, intoxicated with the power of his idealistic-materialism. Thus he ventures even to describe these atoms as if he had actually seen and handled them.

* "Monism as Connecting Religion and Science; the Confession of Faith of a Man of Science" (translated by J. Gilchrist, M.A., &c.). London: Adam and Charles Black. 1894. Pp. 18-21.

† Thus he admits (as we long ago pointed out), that modern science reinforces the scholastic dictum that "nature abhors a vacuum."

‡ The italics are ours here and elsewhere.

He tells us : *

To these original or mass-atoms—the ultimate discrete particles of inert “ponderable” matter—we can with more or less probability ascribe a number of eternal and inalienable fundamental attributes ; they are probably everywhere in space, of like magnitude and constitution. Although possessing a very definite finite magnitude, they are, by virtue of their very nature, indivisible. Their shape *we may take to be spherical* [!]; they are inert (in the physical sense), unchangeable, inelastic and impenetrable by the ether. Apart from the attribute of inertia, the most important characteristic of these ultimate atoms is their chemical affinity—their tendency to apply themselves to one another and combine in small groups in an orderly fashion. These fixed groups (fixed, that is to say, under the present physical conditions of existence of the earth) of primitive atoms are the atoms of the elements—the well-known “indivisible” atoms of chemistry, the qualitative, and, so far as our present empirical knowledge goes, unchangeable distinctions of our chemical elements are therefore *solely* conditioned by the varying *number* and *disposition* of the similar primitive atoms of which they are composed.

He also tells us,† as to the most remote past, of

An unbroken series of natural events, following an orderly course of evolution according to fixed laws . . . from a *primeval chaos* to the present “order of the cosmos.” At the *outset* [!] there is nothing in *infinite* space but mobile elastic ether, and innumerable similar separate particles, the primitive atoms‡—scattered throughout it in the form of dust; perhaps these are themselves originally “points of condensation” of the vibrating “substance,” the remainder of which constitutes the ether. The atoms of our elements arise from the grouping together in definite numbers of the primitive atoms or atoms of mass.

The position taken up by Professor Haeckel is after all but an extreme manifestation of the wide-spread tendency which exists to explain all the most obscure phenomena by the aid of imagination of solid bodies in motion.

This tendency, inasmuch as it is so widespread, must have a cause as universal and widespread as is the existence of the tendency. Men do feel a certain satisfaction and mental rest in so interpreting such phenomena—phenomena of all orders, from those of heat and chemistry to those of sensitive nerve tracks and even of thought itself.

* P. 26.

† P. 32.

‡ The doubly hypothetical atoms which he supposes to compose the hypothetical atoms of the elements.

What then is the reason of this satisfaction and mental rest which sufficiently accounts for the tendency referred to—the tendency to explain all things by solid bodies in motion?

As we reminded our readers in the first part of this article, “we can imagine nothing except what our senses have previously experienced, either as a whole or in its constituent parts.” But this intimate connection between experience and association occasions results which may be summed up in the following law: “Facts of experience are reproduced in our imagination with the greater ease and readiness, the more frequently or continuously they have been experienced by us.”

But there is no phenomenon which is more frequently and continuously the subject of experience to us than motion, and especially the relative change of place of solid bodies. We have that experience in every movement of our own frame, either in its change of place as a whole or in the movements of its several parts. Every breeze which sways the branches, or but makes the leaves of a tree to vibrate, reveals it to us. The dust blown by the wind, every cloud that sails across the sky, gives us such experience. By it our dawning infantine intelligence is first aroused* to activity; as it notices the

* We had just written the above word when our attention was called to an alleged recent discovery at Leipzig, by Professor Flechsig, of four similar connected centres of concentration (complexes) in the human brain (in the surface of the cerebrum), which are said not to be developed in the child till some months after birth. They are described as formed by connection with the various nervous centres of the several organs of sense, which are so brought into relation with each other, and by innumerable fibres, with the four centres which are very reasonably called by Professor Flechsig “centres of association.” They are represented as non-existent in the lower animals and the human infant, it not being in the latter till the third month that the four centres begin actually to form, more and more nerve fibres shooting forth from the centres of sense into the four regions (referred to), ending close to one another in the cerebral cortex. They have been absurdly spoken of as the organs for converting “sensation into ideas.” In the first place we are strongly persuaded that no cerebral organs will be found to exist in man, rudiments of which (at the least) are not to be found in the higher animals—certainly in the apes. But, however this may be, no one who knows anything of Catholic philosophy will be the least disturbed by any discovery of the sort here referred to. The existence of such “centres of association,” or organs of the “*sensus communis*,” was already inferred by the scholastics as a necessary condition for our lower sensuous activity. Such “centres of association” probably also seem to afford that sensuous basis (phantasmata of the imagination) which, as already pointed out, are necessary—as material conditions—for the presence in us of any, and also of our very highest abstract thoughts. They do not in the very least tend to weaken the distinction between sensation and intellection—between the sensuous and the intellectual forms of our psychical activity. Such discoveries have as little bearing on that distinction as have

movements and gestures of those around it, and the movements it can itself impart to objects it begins to grasp or to repel with its hands or feet. When growing into boyhood the throwing of stones or balls, the spinning of tee-to-tums and tops, and later, school games of all kinds up to football and cricket, continually reinforce the lessons taught at the dawn of mental life. The motion of solid bodies is the most primitive, most constant, and most universal of all our experiences. What wonder then that a sense of ease and pleasurable relief should be felt whenever difficult and puzzling phenomena of any kind can be represented by the imagination in terms of the motion of solid bodies? The sense of relief and ease thus experienced may well seem to incautious and superficial thinkers to really be an "explanation" of such problems.

Objects of considerable size can mostly be broken, cut, or crushed by us with smaller portions, but very minute fragments and particles of sand or dust are too small for us to be able to subdivide without the artificial aid of magnifying glasses. Hence arises a vague feeling of distinctness in nature between larger bodies and those which are the minutest we can see, especially as the properties of the latter are obscure or entirely hidden from us, save that they are solid particles. Thus the notion arises of large bodies possessing many obvious qualities, being composed of (because they can often be actually divided into) minute particles, which themselves possess very few qualities indeed.

Through a combination of these multitudinous and continual experiences, the tendency has arisen, extending from a remote antiquity (probably long before Democritus) to the present day, to endeavour to represent all the phenomena of the world by mental images of particles in motion (Karl Pearson's "Dance of Atoms"), and to regard such representations as so many "explanations."

We do not, of course, mean for one moment to underrate

discoveries about the connection between injuries and cerebral functions upon the question of the soul's survival after death. All the latter discoveries tell us no more than does the fact that "when the brains are out man will die, and there an [apparent] end." So, since thought needs organs of sensuous association, the necessary existence of which was ages ago proved, we should give a hearty welcome to any modern scientific confirmation of the ancient scientific prediction.

the enormous practical value and utility, as working hypotheses, of atomic chemistry, undulatory theories of light, electricity, or ether; our sole intention is to point out the entire unsatisfactoriness of regarding such hypotheses as actual objective truths and real explanations of the most recondite problems of nature.

Many persons variously and worthily distinguished as admirable workers and adepts in physical science, present to us the singular spectacle of men unconsciously mistaking their own limited powers of imagination for real tests of the external, objective conditions of the universe.

Had they been acquainted with what may be called the most elementary principles of the scholastic philosophers, they would, through an apprehension both of the limitations imposed on the human imagination and of the wide grasp of objectivity possessed by the human intellect, have been preserved from errors which only befit the intellectual childhood of mankind—errors pardonable enough in a Democritus but inexcusable in those who have had the opportunity of acquainting themselves with the work of man's reason at its best, before it had begun to be degraded and stultified by the teachings of Descartes and Bacon.

But not only are our powers of "imagination" (though not of "thought") limited by our past experience, but an unvarying experience may actually distort the mental perceptions of those who are not on their guard against its effects. For a still further consequence of the intimate relation borne by imagination to experience, is, that "Coexistences of experience which have invariably, under all circumstances, and in all their parts and conditions, been experienced by us as coexisting, cannot be imagined (cannot be 'mentally visualised as separate.')" A similar law also prevails as to the sequences of phenomena: "Whatever facts have been invariably, under all circumstances, and in all their parts and conditions, been experienced by us in succession, cannot be imagined by us as simultaneous or with their experienced succession reversed."

We who are unmaimed have, of course, always experienced the co-existence of two feet and two hands, yet we can imagine ourselves deprived of all our four extremities. But this is no contradiction to the above generalisation about "experience;"

for we have all experienced our limbs in various different conditions, and we have plenty of experience of the severance of parts, and (even of the limbs) of other bodies. Such experience, then, we can readily apply to imagined conditions of our own members.

Similarly, we have very frequently seen the sun set in the evening, and, less frequently, seen it rise in the morning. Nevertheless, we can imagine the sun rising again in the evening after it has set, or setting again in the morning after it has risen. But this facility is due to the fact that the *elements* (the parts) of such imagined evening sunrise and morning sunset *have* been experienced by us, and can therefore easily be rearranged by our imaginative faculty in the abnormal way supposed.

But no man, anywhere or anywhen, has ever met with an object which has not got some other object beyond it; and no man has ever found anything to happen without finding that something else happened after it.

The result of this constant and invariable experience is that it is utterly impossible for us to imagine anything to exist without something beyond it, or to imagine anything to happen without something sooner or later happening after it.

Men who are slaves of their imagination therefore do not hesitate to affirm, as we have seen Haeckel to do, that "space is infinite," and they know it to be such, and that succession is eternal, and that the universe has ever existed and will ever continue to exist. In other words, they affirm that space is necessarily infinite, and time, or succession, necessarily eternal.

Mistaking the impotence of their own imagination for a perception of objective reality, they affirm the real and even infinite and eternal existence of what has no real being at all, but is but a creation of the mind. There is no such thing as space or as time either, as we long ago endeavoured to make popularly evident.*

Space is but an idea gained from our experiences of extended things which are said to possess extension. There are plenty of such things, but there is no such "thing" as "extension,"

* "On Truth," pp. 407-410. 1889.

which is but an idea of one of their qualities considered in the abstract. Similarly "space" is a more abstract idea still, and denotes the extension of all extended things abstractedly considered.

Time is but another idea gained from our experience of things which succeed each other, and which are said follow each other in "succession." But there is no such thing as "succession" itself, which is but a name expressing our idea of a quality of such succeeding things considered in the abstract. Similarly, "time" is a more abstract idea still, and denotes the succession of all succeeding things abstractedly considered.

In this frequently existing persuasion, that space and time must be infinite and eternal, we have a supreme example of the fettering effects of the imagination, and of constant and reiterated experience of one definite kind. But not only are our intellectual powers fettered by our sensuous imagination, but the intellect's own freedom of action and facility of perception may be impaired by too constant and repeated a use of it in one special direction or in one limited field only. It is notorious that many men who have long been actively and ably engaged in one kind of study, find a great difficulty when they begin to apply themselves to a very different form of activity, though it be no less intellectual than was their former pursuit.

If we duly bear in mind the hindrances which arise through all these various impediments (1) addiction to a special mental activity; (2) a one-sided and invariable past experience, and (3) a failure to distinguish between imagination and conception—between phantasms of the imagination and intellectual perceptions—and the consequences we have seen thence to result in the fields of biology and physics, we shall be prepared for far greater consequences when we turn to questions of religion, nor need we be surprised to find that results are sometimes produced in opposite directions.

We shall not easily discover a better or more naïve example of unconscious blindness produced by the three hindrances just enumerated than that afforded by the pages of Professor Haeckel's work entitled "*Monism*," to which we have before referred.

To their misleading effects he adds that, inexcusable in a

scientific man, of neglecting to inform himself as to the subject matter he discusses. Thus he describes* a Catholic as "One who regards as true exercises of the Christian religion, the adoration of old clothes and wax dolls, and the thoughtless repetition of masses or rosaries." Quite apart from any respect for Christianity, the mere desire to be scientifically accurate should have made it impossible for him to have written, as he has,† concerning "The three 'Divine Persons,' about whose hypostatical [!] union human reason has for eighteen hundred years been tormenting itself in vain."

His conception of what is meant by the term "Personal," as applied to Almighty God, is so absurd as to be almost incredible. Yet he plainly declares‡ that to "recognise in God a personal being," is to recognise, "in other words, an individual of limited extension in space or even of human form," adding,§ that "the anthropomorphic representation of God degraded this loftiest cosmic idea to that of a 'gaseous vertebrate.'" This "loftiest cosmic idea" of his is that of the ether, which he declares|| to be "God the Creator, always in motion."

What must be the necessary result of presenting to the minds of men of the type whereof Haeckel is an extreme example, any such idea as that of Divine Creation? Even apart from anti-Christian prejudice, the fetters of sensuous imagination, which they will not attempt to shake off, must make it utterly unacceptable to them. As to God's act of creation Haeckel at once asks¶ "Whence did he derive the material for it?"

The idea of "creation" is, in the minds of very many men, accompanied and supported by mental phantasmata in which God appears as a human figure performing various manipulatory acts. For many Englishmen, with respect to the creation of animals, the words of Milton have furnished mental images of creatures struggling out of the earth, while the traditional images of the Pictorial Bible for the people during the Middle Ages, have provided a number of mental images which, without being specially attended to and realized, have a more or less

* P. 81.

§ P. 79.

† P. 76.

|| P. 106.

‡ P. 78.

¶ P. 70.

decided action on the imagination. Such things are, of course, also more or less familiar to the opponents of theological doctrines and help to intensify their opposition, because (as we have seen to be the case with Haeckel) they absurdly attribute to the Faithful a real belief in the objective existence of beings and actions exactly corresponding with such symbols—as before pointed out* with respect to similar opposition against a recognition of the soul's existence. Such opponents are far, indeed, from understanding (or at least from admitting they understand) that for the Faithful such symbols merely serve as aids towards the intellectual apprehension of truths which no mental images whatever can in any way truly represent.

The repeated exclamations of triumph at Darwin's success in having banished faith in "special creation," in favour of a belief in "evolution," would be simply ludicrous, but for the fearful amount of moral wreckage that has accompanied the movement.

What the opponents of "special creation" really object to, is simply their own silly imaginations of such unimaginable Divine Activity. Let us suppose that new species arise through changes affecting the germ in the generative organs of parent animals. In that case each such change may be as truly an Act of Divine "special creation" as any other mode of origin, whatever it may be. "Evolution" in no way necessarily excludes "special creation" any more than "special creation" need make "evolution," through eons of time, unnecessary.

It would not be just, however, to blame exclusively irreligious advocates of Darwinism for this confusion of thought. Not a few religious opponents of Darwinism seem to have fallen into the same error, and to have supposed that biological evolution was in necessary opposition to the doctrine of special creation.

But if such errors and misunderstandings can arise with respect to truths closely related to physical existences—such as the existence of the human soul, the creation of the material universe, and that of the various forms of life which people this planet, how much more do the necessary limits of our imaginative faculty give rise to misunderstandings with respect to purely theological truths? With respect to such truths as the

* DUBLIN REVIEW, Jan. 1895, p. 166.

Hypostatic Union of the Divine and Human Natures in Our Lord, the Divine presence in the Holy Eucharist, and that of the Blessed Trinity, not only can the imagination in no way picture them, but the human intellect is utterly inadequate for their comprehension.

Not that we intend to imply—we are indeed most anxious to affirm to the exact contrary—that the supernatural truths of religion are “unknowable” by that intellect any more than that God Himself is “unknowable.” That even the most imperfect apprehension of anything is, after all, “*partial truth*”—“truth” as far as it goes, and not “falsehood,” is a matter which it is most important to bear in mind, as all must feel sure who have any adequate idea of the enormous mischief which has been done by good, pious and well-meaning men, such as Sir William Hamilton and Mansel, through their pernicious doctrine of the universal and necessary “relativity of knowledge.” About God and about the most mysterious dogmas which he has deigned to reveal to us in Christianity, a multitude of positive characters can be predicated and a corresponding number of truths can be known by us. But though they can be truly known, and with sufficient accuracy for our needs, they can, as before said, be known but most imperfectly as regards their own real objective nature and fulness; while the mental phantasms and the audible, visible or tangible signs and symbols which serve to awaken and sustain our intellectual conceptions in their regard, are infinitely more remote from what they symbolise than is the edge of a razor from the intellect of Scotus.

Thus, certain as it is that our intellect can truly apprehend, to a limited extent, not only what is utterly unimaginable but also what is beyond adequate intellectual comprehension, it is none the less certain that the phantasmata which accompany such apprehensions cannot correspond with objective reality and therefore must be false and, apart from the purpose they legitimately serve, misleading.

With respect to the eucharistic presence of Our Lord in the Blessed Sacrament, we can sufficiently understand, affirm, believe the Church's doctrine, and make use of it as a guide to our actions; but the nature of that presence we can never imagine, and whatever phantasm with respect to it we may

force our imagination to construct, must be in disaccord with the Divine reality, cannot correspond with objective reality and must, so far, be false.

Hence arises much of the difficulty in accepting Catholic dogmas which is felt by non-Catholics even well-disposed towards Catholicism. The fettering effects of the imagination help to intensify intellectual prejudices previously acquired, and so may occasion a really invincible opposition on the part of religiously minded men. But men like Haeckel—men who oppose and deride Christianity without having made any effort to become acquainted with it—generally base their arguments and misrepresentations on a confusion of mere sensuous symbols with the truths they symbolise, as the writer just named has drawn absurd deductions from the symbolical declaration which affirms that man was created “in the image of God.”

Opponents of religion and upholders of “naturalism” are sometimes singularly inconsistent in that they object to some religious doctrines on the ground that they are just what they should be if the views of such opponents were really true.

Surely nothing can well be more inconsistent than to object to a dogma concerning the Divine nature because it is difficult to understand, while affirming that the ultimate cause and support of all things cannot be understood at all!

Yet some persons who accept such views as those of Mr. Herbert Spencer, object, on these very grounds, to the Christian doctrine of the Blessed Trinity! Surely with their doctrine of “the unknowable” they should be convinced that any possible revelation with respect to the First Cause, could only be stated in terms so mysterious as at first sight to seem irreconcilable and contradictory!

The misleading effect of the imagination (which, as we have seen, so fetters merely physical science), is a terrible bar to the comprehension and acceptance of the supernatural truths of revelation, when those misleading effects are not provided against by a careful explanation of the necessary conditions of all our intellectual activity with a special caution as to limitations in what concerns dogma.

And here we may perhaps be permitted to point out that danger does not exclusively arise from want of attention

to these conditions on the part of those who are ignorant of, or disinclined to the truths of theology. As we before observed,* "its evil effects extend over the whole field of thought, not only degrading the higher conceptions of the biologist and physicist, but even acting very prejudicially on some philosophers and divines."

No doctrines can be affirmed by us save in human language and all human language is composed of sensuous symbols. It is manifest therefore that in every instance there is a possible danger of pressing too strongly the mere symbol, "the letter which killeth," to the detriment of the living truth such "letter" was intended to symbolise. At the very least teachers run a risk of being thus misunderstood, and it is surely desirable that they should be on their guard both against being taken too literally and against allowing themselves to take too literally, teaching they have themselves received. The analogy of the misleading effect which is produced in physical science by neglecting to take carefully into account the effects of the mere imagination is surely very instructive in this connection.

We think that there is a special danger at this moment of such misunderstandings with respect to Biblical criticism. We think there is a danger for non-Catholics of being kept away from the Church and a danger to not a few Catholics of being sorely and unnecessarily distressed. If we are right, it is surely incumbent on us to be on our guard against the ill effects of mistaking symbols for things symbolised. Otherwise we may unconsciously be the means of imposing fetters on the religious conceptions of well-meaning, simple-minded persons. Were we to impose such we might do far more harm than by any mistakes in biological or physical science. Not a few minds amongst the laity are now troubled about the teaching that God himself "composed the Holy Scriptures, and that He is their author," as also that they are "free from all error," and to such a few reflections from a fellow layman may not be altogether unwelcome.

Here the distinction between the sensuous symbol and the thing symbolised appears supremely important. That the

* DUBLIN REVIEW, Jan. 1895, p. 162.

Scriptures were written at the "dictation" of the Holy Ghost is manifestly a metaphorical expression; that God is, as of course he must be, the primary "author" of Scripture does not exclude the co-operation, even the laborious co-operation of the writer. Of course it is manifest to us that the writers wrote those things and those things alone, which God wished them to write; that is to say, the writings were precisely what God wished them to be, and are at this moment precisely what God wishes them to be, and yet no one denies that He has allowed errors to creep in. God has not *inspired* error, but it is plain he inspired men to write, some of whose sayings were erroneous as, *e.g.*, some of the arguments used by the disputants in the book of Job. Evidently therefore inspiration only excludes "formal" and not merely "material" error. But in order to know what would be "formal" error it would be necessary to know the end and purpose of God. As Scotus has said, the Scriptures are to be interpreted by God himself. "*Scripturæ ab Eo sunt interpretandæ a Quo sunt conditæ.*"

That the purpose of the Scriptures was not to teach physical science was made for ever plain by Galileo. But it is certain they could not have served that purpose; for if the physical science of to-day was manifest in the Bible, such teaching would have been worse than useless centuries ago, and would be worse than useless centuries to come. It would have been necessary not only for the Bible to have been the expression of scientific omniscience, but for its readers to have possessed an analogous faculty, or they could have made no use of it in any one age of human history!

It is becoming clearer every day that God did not intend to give us *critical history* as we write it now. Plainly it did not enter into the Divine purpose to give us a complete and exact history of the whole human race from the beginning, nor even a critically accurate history of the tribe of Semites chosen by Him. It is, we have been well assured, a sufficient account of the scope and purpose of the Scriptures to say that their object was to communicate certain truths and facts as a necessary antecedent for the Incarnation and the institution of the Church.

It is wonderful what freedom remains to Catholics after Trent, the Vatican and the recent Encyclical, which latter has not really gone beyond what those councils had previously laid down.

The Pope has not, as I have been given to understand, laid down anything as to authorship, dates, &c., which really conflicts with the duly ascertained results of modern criticism. He has not taught and does not teach us "Biblical criticism." The office of the Church is not to teach science, whether physical or historical. The Pope speaks not as a critic but as a Ruler, whose duty is to watch over the welfare, not of science, but of souls. Had the office of the Church been to teach science she would have failed indeed. But as long as we hold there is a moral ruler above us, and that our deliberate actions in this initial sphere of our existence have everlasting consequences, the Church's action is abundantly justified. All the errors of science, physical or historical, do not weigh in the balance, even infinitesimally, compared with the everlasting destiny of one human soul.

It is with this conviction that we have ventured to call attention to this one, in our eyes most important, aspect of that generally misleading result of failing to distinguish symbols from things signified, and of so avoiding that fettering action of the imagination which has had such misleading consequences in the science of physics, in our conceptions of matters of space and time, in our ideas of the living world and of our own being and above all of the human soul. That we shall ever obtain a thoroughly true conception of the nature of extended bodies we do not believe, nor that the mystery of life, of vital activity, sensation and consciousness will be adequately comprehended by us, though we believe Aristotle's conception (as put forward in our first part) has the greatest probability and will never be bettered.

Of the yet higher truths to which he have ventured to refer, no more complete apprehension can surely be expected. But in each and every case we are profoundly convinced that great good will result from careful consideration of the misleading effects which may be produced by the imagination and the fettering action it may exercise on every form of science accessible to the human mind.

ST. GEORGE MIVART.

ART. II.—THE BISHOPS OF EXETER IN THE THIRTEENTH AND FOURTEENTH CENTURIES.

Episcopal Registers of the Diocese of Exeter : Bishop Walter Bronescombe, 1257–1280 ; Bishop Peter Quivil, 1280–1291 ; Bishop Thomas de Bytton, 1292–1307 ; Bishop Walter de Stapeldon, 1307–1326 ; Bishop James de Berkeley, 1327 ; Bishop John de Grandisson, Part I., 1327–1330 ; Bishop Edmund Stafford, 1395–1419. By the Rev. T. C. HINGESTON-RANDOLPH, M.A., Prebendary of Exeter. London : George Bell & Sons. 1886–1894.

THE Bishops of Exeter whose Registers have been placed within our reach in Prebendary Randolph's colossal work—the volumes already published making some 2500 pages mostly in small print—lived in stirring times. The translation of the Roman Court to Avignon, the Schism of the West, the Black Death, the Lollards, the struggles of the nation to achieve its freedom from despotism, all concurred to make the episcopal charge in an English diocese a painful and laborious one. The Bishop had to struggle both with the decay of fervour in his flock and the too often aggressive attitude of the Crown. It has been too much the fashion for Catholics to sigh over the Middle Ages as an embodiment of the peaceful reign of the Church on earth. Father Dalgairns wrote of the later part of those ages, in his admirable book on Holy Communion :

Then came two terrible centuries, most difficult to characterise, the fourteenth and the fifteenth. The world had lost in a great measure the supernatural principles of the true Middle Ages, and had not attained to the Pelagian virtues of modern times. I should call them the most unprincipled centuries of the Christian era.

Now, to form or correct our judgments on the ages that prepared England for the evil days of Henry VIII. and his daughter, we have nothing that can at all compare with the vast collection of documents given to the light by the astonish-

ing labour of the Rev. Mr. Randolph. We give in this article but a few samples culled here and there from this immense repertory, having in view rather to illustrate the splendid virtues which adorned the See of Exeter in Bishops like Grandisson, Stafford or Stapeldon, than to furnish a picture of mediæval ecclesiastical discipline.

Walter Bronescombe, a native of Exeter, is the first of the bishops of that see whose registers have been preserved. On February 23, 1258, Bronescombe was unanimously elected Bishop of Exeter by the Chapter. Though he held at the time of his election the office of chancellor of the cathedral, he was only in deacon's orders. The royal assent was obtained on March 3rd, and on the 9th of the month he was ordained priest at Canterbury, and the next day, being Passion Sunday, was consecrated by the Primate, Blessed Boniface of Savoy. This glorious prelate was the son of Count Thomas of Savoy, and had passed from the Carthusian cloister to the episcopal throne. The extraordinary beauty of his person won for him in his youth the title of "the Absalom of Savoy." Three centuries after his death, when the tomb in which his body reposed at the Abbey of Haute-Combe was opened, it was found still incorrupt. His *cultus* was confirmed by Gregory XVI. The grace of the pastoral office conferred on Walter Bronescombe by the hands of Blessed Boniface bore fruit worthy of his saintly consecrator, to which the register of his episcopate bears ample witness.

A year and nine days after his consecration, on March 19, 1258-59, we find Bishop Bronescombe holding a judicial inquiry in the chapterhouse of Buckfast Abbey, the foundations of which (showing traces of the red sandstone bench that ran round it) have been recently excavated. Abbot Durandus, William de Pontestoke, a Cistercian monk of Buckfast, and several others, were present to assist in the investigation. Bishop Blondy, Bronescombe's predecessor, had left the affairs of the diocese in an unsettled state. But on the present occasion Walter of Loddiswell, priest, and Richard of Totnes, his notary, appeared before the Bishop, and confessed that "in the year 1257 they entered the Bishop's chamber in the night, and found there some of the Bishop's household, clerks and laymen, assembled. These told him the Bishop was dying,

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and urged them to arrange the bequeathing of his property, granting of benefices, &c., and that they should draw up and seal deeds to that purpose. All present being sworn to secrecy, they wrote and sealed the papers. Being interrogated whether the Bishop, who was in bed, was alive or dead at the time, they answered that they did not know, but said they did not hear him speak, nor ever saw him alive afterwards. Interrogated who were present, they gave the names of Master John, son of Robert, Master Gervase of Crediton, Caynoc, the Bishop's valets, and others (to the number of eight). Other letters they had written and sealed, after they knew the Bishop was dead." A due canonical penance was imposed, and absolution "*in forma ecclesiæ*" granted to the two who had confessed.

The times needed plainly an energetic Bishop, and no feature of Bishop Bronescombe's government stands out in stronger relief than his indefatigable activity in visiting the farthest corners of the diocese. Here we may as well, as an example, quote a passage from our author's preface:—

Leaving Lawhitton, by Tamar-side, on the 18th or 19th of September, he reached Bodmin on the 20th, and on the same day journeyed to Poltone, where he remained till the 26th, when we find him at St. Newlyn, some miles to the south-west, and the following day at Kenwyn. The 28th and 29th were spent in Truro, and from thence he made his way to Tregony, which he reached on the 30th. There he abode two days, setting out on the 3rd of October for the south coast, and visiting, in rapid succession, a large number of places, some of which are not altogether easy of access even now, and must have been much less so over such roads as the good Bishop and his retinue had to encounter more than six hundred years ago. He visited St. Anthony in Roseland on the 3rd, St. Michael Carhayes and Tregear on the 5th, Mevagissey and Bodrigan on the 8th, St. Austell on the 9th, and Looe, many miles over the hills eastward, on the 11th. That night he reached St. Germans Priory and spent the next day there, proceeding to Shevioke on the 13th, Antony on the 14th, the remote parish of Rame, on the 15th, Pillaton (miles away to the north, and by a very circuitous route) on the 16th, St. Mellion on the 17th, Botunfleming on the 18th, St. Dominick on the 20th, North Petherwin (far away in North Cornwall beyond Launceston) on the 22nd, St. Clether on the 23rd, Kelly, across the Tamar, on the 24th, and St. Stephens-by-Launceston on the 25th!

Truly the zeal of the house of God had eaten him up, for the above is the work of less than two months. Then in every

town and village churches were being built in the beautiful architecture of the thirteenth century. But when we find him consecrating twenty-one churches in thirty days it is time to cease from our account of his labours. Such was an English bishop in the days when Henry III. was fighting the barons, and Edward I. contending with Bruce for the kingdom of Scotland.

Henry III. died in 1271, and not till three years later did his son Edward return from the Holy Land. The absence of the king invariably let loose the licence of the barons. Bishop Bronescombe in a document dated May 9th, 1273, while deferring for a time sentence of excommunication, commands that in the Cathedral of Exeter, and all collegiate and parochial churches, with ringing of bells and with lighted candles, denunciations be published against the sacrilegious violence of the knights and others in the service of Edmund, Earl of Cornwall. These ruffians had broken into St. Alan's Church in Cornwall, and, in the sanctuary and at the altar, had shed the blood of the clergy, dragged them at their horses' tails, and defaced with their swords the priestly tonsure. As the powerful earl was the son of Richard, King of the Romans, and was the king's cousin, sentence of excommunication was deferred, "out of reverence to our Lord the King, now absent." The earl's brother submitted at once, and Edmund himself gave full satisfaction to the Bishop, as appears from subsequent documents. No wonder that Bishop Bronescombe bewails the calamitous state of the Church in his days.

Six years before Bishop Bronescombe's death we find him with his beloved Archbishop, Boniface of Savoy, among the Fathers of the Ecumenical Council of Lyons. And here we may remark that if any one looking through these registers still doubt if England in those days were Roman Catholic he has clean taken leave of his senses. The Bishop was at Bayonne when Queen Eleanor gave birth to a son on St. Clement's Day, 1274. He baptised the royal infant on the next day. Prince Alfonso only lived ten years, and was buried in Westminster Abbey.

Bishop Bronescombe died on the 22nd of July 1280.

He rests under the beautiful tomb which serves as a screen between the Lady Chapel and his own chapel of St. Gabriel, immediately opposite

the tomb of Bishop Edmund de Stafford, which also serves as a screen under the corresponding arch on the north side. His effigy and the slab which supports it are of early date, and were probably erected immediately after his death. But the altar tomb and the gorgeous canopy overshadowing it closely resemble those of Bishop Stafford, and must have been erected early in the fifteenth century.

The limits of space oblige me to pass over the shorter registers of Bishops Quivil and Bytton.

Walter de Stapeldon's episcopate coincides with the reign of the unfortunate Edward II., the Bishop's election following a few months on Edward's accession, and his murder preceding the dethronement of his Sovereign by a brief space. Statesman and Bishop at once, his heroic loyalty to his King only renders more conspicuous his zeal for the House of God, in the minutest details of his sacred office.

Walter de Stapeldon, we read in our author's preface, was a Devonshire man, born at Annery, in the parish of Monkleigh, about 1260. He was the son of William and Mabel de Stapeldon. His elder brother, Sir Richard, was a puisne judge of the King's Bench, and we find Bishop de Stapeldon occasionally visiting him at Stapeldon Manor, in the parish of Cookbury. Walter studied at Oxford, where he also taught canon law, was rector of Aveton Giffard, being Canon of Exeter as early as 1302, and succeeded William de Puntingdon as Precentor. On the 6th of October, 1307, he was elected Bishop of Exeter. His troubles began at once. Blessed Boniface of Savoy had gone to his rest, and Archbishop Winchelsey was a man of a very different stamp, and was, in fact, at this time in France, suspended from his office by the Holy See, which suspension was removed at Poitiers by the Pope on the 15th of January following. As some troublesome ecclesiastic had appealed against Stapeldon's election, it was not confirmed till March 13th. It is plain that Stapeldon had enemies, and we find him some years previously engaged in a serious and violent dispute with the Dominicans of Exeter, by whom he was accused of having broken down the screen in their church and various other acts of aggression. The confirmation of his election did not end his difficulties. The Archbishop had come back to England, evidently not in the most peaceable frame of mind, and poor Stapeldon, who was penniless, writes in despair:

The monks of Canterbury tell me that they will not allow any Bishop-elect in the province to be consecrated anywhere else than in the Church of Canterbury. This is very hard on me; I am in *puris et nudis*, the storehouses of the manors are empty; though the crops are in the fields they were sown during the vacancy, and belong to the king.

In this harassing anxiety he sent his brother Robert to Canterbury to obtain leave to be consecrated somewhere else. The prior and monks were not unwilling, but when Robert began to plead with the Archbishop, that prelate interrupted him at his first word, and, "with his usual violence," writes Stapeldon, "said he would not grant us or any one what our messenger asked, adding other things which, out of respect for him, we will not repeat, and saying he was astonished we had not come to him in person to ask about the time of our consecration." Meanwhile Queen Isabella was importuning him for a prebend in behalf of a favourite chaplain, and an annual pension in the meanwhile. The Bishop-elect refused to promise a prebend as being uncanonical, but gave out of his poverty a small pension. At last, on October 13, 1308, he was consecrated at Canterbury, at which time he was in such straits that he had to ask his Brother-elect of Worcester (Reynolds) to pay their joint expenses, even for meat and drink.

Once consecrated, his energy in diocesan work carried on the traditions of Bishop Bronescombe. At his first ordination held at Crediton, he ordained the astonishing number of 1005, including those who received minor orders. The names of all are given in the Register, and these ordination registers enable us to know the names of the choir-monks at Buckfast, Tavistock, Torre and the other monastic communities in the diocese. On another occasion, the Bishop finds that an unlucky candidate, presented by the Abbot of Buckfast, could not sing, so his ordination is deferred till he learns his plain chant properly. The examiners on this occasion must have been specially interested in chant, for six others come under the same sentence: "Not to be admitted to orders, unless they know how to sing." "As he cannot sing he is not to have his ordination papers till he learns, *quousque sciverit*." Now and then some one is ordained on the special condition that he is not to hear confessions except *in articulo mortis*. The list of

Bishop Stapeldon's ordinations occupies ninety small-print pages of the volume before us. Several were held in the diocese of Winchester.

Before passing to the great political events in which Bishop Stapeldon took part towards the close of his stormy episcopate, we meet with a very pleasing insight into his paternal care for the nuns of his diocese. The two communities, of Benedictine nuns and Canonesses of St. Augustine, now near neighbours at Teignmouth and Abbotsleigh, were in Stapeldon's time represented by the communities at Polslo and Canonsleigh. Polslo was in the neighbourhood of Exeter, and among its chief benefactors had numbered, in former days, Tracy, the murderer of St. Thomas. Canonsleigh was in the deanery of Tiverton. The Bishop's instructions are in Norman-French, which was, I suppose, still the language spoken in England by ladies of rank. The nuns were not then enclosed, as they are at present. The orders given by Bishop Stapeldon to the two communities are in part similar. He decrees that silence be kept according to the rule, in the parts of the monastery where speaking is not allowed; and if it is necessary to speak it must be in a whisper, "and had best be in Latin, even though it be not good Latin according to the rules of grammar." Next, the Bishop orders them to keep with all solemnity the Feast of Corpus Christi, then recently instituted, and, after various regulations on monastic discipline, goes at length into the subject of going on journeys outside the monastery. This is not to be allowed oftener than once a year, to visit their friends or relations, with leave of the Prioress, and with a professed nun for companion, chosen by the Prioress and not by the nun herself, and she must not go out on two several times with the same companion. If a nun (of Polslo) only goes on out to dine at Exeter, she must have besides her companion, a clerk, chaplain, or esquire of good reputation appointed by the Prioress, who must go and return with them, and not go from one hostelry to another "as they have sometimes done," adds the Bishop. We must not forget we are in the age of Chaucer.

Bishop Stapeldon's activity in the visitation of his diocese rivalled that of his predecessor, Bishop Bronescombe. The fact already related of his ordaining on one single occasion 1005 individuals gives us an idea that his physical strength

must have been great. It is true, he was then only in his forty-eighth year. Among his greatest works are the progress he made with his glorious cathedral, and the foundation of Stapeldon Hall, now Exeter College, at Oxford. The original statutes of the latter are given in full from the single MS. extant, by Prebendary Randolph, as drawn up by the great Bishop. He did little actual building with the nave of his Cathedral, preparing the work for Bishop Grandisson, but he made the choir a work of dazzling magnificence. The markets and fairs of Ashburton, two miles from Buckfast, obtained by Bishop Stapeldon, are still maintained there, and his foundation of St. Laurence's School is still flourishing, though St. Laurence's Guild and Chantry have disappeared with the disappearance of the Faith that inspired them.

But we must hasten on to the great catastrophe. During the second half of his episcopate, Stapeldon was kept constantly employed by the King in affairs of the State. The royal and papal letters concerning the disputes between Edward and Bruce are given at length from the Exeter Registers. Bishop Stapeldon, with the Earl of Pembroke and Henry de Beaumont, opened the Parliament held at York in the eventful year of Bannockburn. He narrowly escaped death from the partisans of the "She-wolf of France" when in that country as royal envoy. The Bishop did his best to save the King from the headlong ruin into which his affection for the De Spensers was hurrying him, and the letter published in this volume throws much light on the history of the events that brought about Edward's tragical end. Stapeldon's remonstrances made him incur the temporary disfavour of his Sovereign.

In that Sovereign's quarrel he was to die. Edward fled from London into Wales, leaving the custody of the Tower in the hands of the Bishop of Exeter. From three ancient accounts of the Bishop's murder, given by our author, we select that compiled at St. Alban's.

Continuing their rage, the citizens made a rush for the house of the Bishop of Exeter, Master Walter de Stapeldon, and setting fire to the gates, quickly forced an entrance. But not finding the Bishop, whose destruction was their object, they carried off his jewels, plate and furniture. It happened, however, in an evil hour, that the Bishop came back from the country; who, although he had been forewarned of their evil

designs, felt no manner of dread of the citizens. So he rode on, with all boldness, till he reached the north door of St. Paul's, where he was forthwith seized by the raging people, who struck at and wounded him, and finally, having dragged him from his horse, hurried him away to the place of execution. When they had dragged him as far as Cheapside, they then proclaimed him to be a traitor to the State, a seducer of the King and a destroyer of the liberties of their city. Now the Bishop had on a kind of armour, which was commonly called an *acton*; and having stripped him of that, and of all his garments, they cut off his head. Two others, members of his household, his esquire and his valet, suffered the same fate. Having perpetrated this sacrilegious deed, they fixed the Bishop's head on a tall stake, by way of trophy, to be to all beholders a lasting memorial of their crime. As to the Bishop's corpse, they flung it without any funeral rites like that of an excommunicated man, into a small pit in a certain old cemetery, then altogether disused, which had belonged, formerly to the brothers who used to be called the *Frères Pyes* (*White Frères* or *Frères de la Pie*, according to William de Pakyngton). The cause of all this bitter enmity was, that when he was Treasurer of the Kingdom, he procured of the King's Council that the Justices in Eyre should sit within the City of London; and so it fell out that the citizens, because they had committed many offences, were subjected to manifold punishment, as they had deserved. It was also alleged against him that he had collected a great multitude of soldiers against the Queen.

Those murdered with him were William Waulle, his nephew, and John Paddington. Stapeldon was riding to take sanctuary in St. Paul's when he was seized by the mob.

So died the loyal, munificent and exemplary Walter de Stapeldon. He was buried in St. Clement Dane's, and his body was removed to Exeter in the following year. His murder shows that reverence for the Church was greatly on the wane in England. And here we must take leave of Stapeldon's Register. It contains, among other papal documents, the complete texts of the bull of canonisation of St. Thomas of Hereford, and a bull of Clement V. against tournaments.

James de Berkeley was the next Bishop. His episcopate lasted only three months, but the circumstances attending his election are worthy of the attention of those among our Anglican friends who may still doubt if the Pope's authority was in full activity in England in mediæval times. We need only sum up Prebendary Randolph's historical notice.

Immediately after Bishop Stapeldon's murder, Archbishop Reynolds committed the care of the vacant diocese to Adam de

Murimuth, Canon of Exeter, who, by his *Chronicle*, takes a place among the historians of England. On the 5th of December, 1326, the Chapter unanimously elected James, third son of Thomas, Lord Berkeley, by Joan, daughter of William de Ferrers, Earl of Derby. The royal assent was given on the 12th. Meanwhile Pope John XXII. at Avignon had, on the 24th of the previous month, announced in consistory that he reserved to himself the right of providing to the vacant See of Exeter, and sent his commissaries to England to announce the reservation. They reached Dover on the 10th of December, proceeding at once to Canterbury. The King took alarm, and wrote to the Pope from Kenilworth on the 18th of December, as well as to several cardinals, petitioning his Holiness not to insist on the reservation. "The Pope," writes our author, "solved the difficulty, not by foregoing his reservation, but by giving it in favour of the Bishop-elect." But Berkeley died in three months, on the 24th of June. The King at once wrote to the Pope, asking him to confer the dignity of Bishop of Exeter on Thomas de Cherletone, Canon of York. The Chapter meanwhile elected John de Godeleghe, Canon of Exeter and Dean of Wells. But John XXII. at once appointed John de Grandisson, who was consecrated at Avignon, together with John de Cherletone, Elect of Hereford, by Peter, Cardinal Bishop of Palestrina. Hereon Prebendary Randolph writes:

Whatever may be thought of these proceedings by those who have no sympathy with Papal claims, they were, at any rate, justified by the result. It was a good and wise choice, and gave to Exeter the most devoted and illustrious of her Bishops. The new Bishop found his whole diocese distressed and disordered. His Cathedral Church was unfinished, and the work of recasting the nave, which had been begun by Stapeldon, and suddenly cut short by his lamentable death, demanded immediate measures to save it from dilapidation and ruin. The ordinary duties of the clergy, in the remoter parts of Cornwall, were sorely neglected, while discipline even in the Cathedral itself, was all but suspended. But he plunged into his work bravely and eagerly, without a moment's delay that could be avoided, grudging even the few days that were occupied by necessary formalities, and spurning the attractions of the Court and the flattery and praise of men. He could not rest till he was united to his Spouse; and when he had once taken possession of his diocese, it was found almost impossible to induce him to leave it again, through all his long episcopate, and he devoted his days with untiring energy, undinching self-sacrifice, and conspicuous success to its reformation and

good government. But I must reserve my detailed account of his life and labours for my preface to the Third Part of this edition of his Register. If I am spared to complete my task, all my materials will, then, be displayed in order before me, and I may hope to do justice, in some measure to the memory of so great a man.

I shall not enter on a review of the part, already published, of Bishop Grandisson's Register. It is a splendid collection, of absorbing interest, the letters and documents being given in full. But the whole Register deserves an article to itself, as if I may judge from this part it illustrates both the ecclesiastical and monastic discipline of the age in an extraordinary degree.

Bishop Stafford's Register is of later date (A.D. 1395-1419). It was the first one published by our indefatigable editor. We must dismiss it briefly, having reached our limits.

Edmund de Stafford was the son of Sir Richard de Stafford (who was summoned to Parliament as Baron Stafford de Clifton in 1371), by his first wife, daughter of Sir Richard de Vernon. His episcopal consecration, by Archbishop Courtenay, took place on the 20th of June 1395. One of the most interesting features of his Register is the collection of Wills which it contains, and which fill 45 pages in small type. I find one John Fardell, of Buckfastleigh, leaving 26s. 8d., a large sum in those days, to buy an "Ordinal" for the parish church, and to the monks of the Abbey of Buckfast, 13s. 4d., "that they may pray for him there." John de Shillingford, Canon of Exeter, wishes to be buried in St. Catherine's Chapel, Widdicombe-in-the-moor (not far from my own monastery), "that where I had my first welcome, I may receive my last farewell" (*Ut ubi habui primum salve ibi recipiam ultimum vale*).

I am sensible that I am far from having done justice to the energy, ability, and candour displayed in this truly noble work. If it modifies any too fond and roseate views people may have entertained of the Middle Ages, it yet shows with tenfold splendour the power of the Church in battling with the world in times to the full as dangerous as those in which we live. And for this and many other reasons, we owe a debt of lasting gratitude to Prebendary Randolph-Hingeston.

ADAM HAMILTON, O.S.B.

ART. III.—THE BOOK OF DANIEL.

ONE of the most perplexing problems connected with the Book of Daniel arises out of the fact that it contains a long section, extending to about one half the entire work, written in the Aramaic dialect.* Why is this so? Was the book originally in Hebrew throughout? Or in Aramaic? Or was it from the first, as it is now, bi-lingual? Needless to say, many explanations have been hazarded to account for the presence of two dialects in Daniel; but most of them are very far from being convincing.

It is weak to suggest that the Chaldaean sages are introduced, addressing the king in Aramaic (ii. 46), because such was the court language of Babylon; and that then the writer, through inadvertence, continues to write in Aramaic to the end of the seventh chapter. For, to say nothing of the rather grotesque supposition that the writer should have been guilty of such gross and reckless want of care, it is pretty certain that not Aramaic, but the Babylonian, which is found in the Babylonian contracts and inscriptions, would have been employed on such an occasion.

Father Knabenbauer, S.J.,† who supports the traditional view as to the authorship and date of Daniel, suggests that those prophecies which it was of importance for both Jews and Babylonians to know, were composed in Aramaic, a dialect intelligible to a considerable number of both peoples; the later prophecies, as being of interest chiefly to the Jews, he recorded in Hebrew, the ordinary language of the prophetical writers.

From chap. i. 21 [he writes] it is clear that this chapter was written in the first year of Cyrus. It is, however, very unlikely that up to that year Daniel committed nothing to writing. On the contrary, it is highly probable that he wrote down the events recorded in chapters 2, 3, &c. at once; and that—because it was of equal importance for Jews and Babylonians to know them—he used a dialect which was certainly familiar to many of both nations. But when later on he recorded in writing those revelations and oracles which concerned the Jews alone,

* Chaps. i.-ii., 4a, viii.-xii. are in Hebrew; chaps. iv. 46-vii. are in Aramaic.

† "Commentarius in Daniele," p. 18.

he employed, as did the other prophets, the Hebrew tongue. The same language he employed, when he collected the prophecies he had written down at various times into one volume, prefixing to them by way of introduction I. 1 and the following verses. In this volume such sections as has had been already written and published in Aramaic were inserted in the same language.

The above explanation is built upon the supposition that the Book of Daniel, as it now exists, proceeded from the prophetic writer in the days of the captivity; and from such a standpoint it has doubtless much to recommend it. A considerable difficulty, however, arises from the fact that the Hebrew does not leave off at the end of the first chapter, where one would naturally expect the preface to close; and that the Aramaic does not begin with a new context, but abruptly in the middle of a narrative.

Mr. Bevan seeks for an explanation of the problem in a different direction. He is of opinion that the Book of Daniel was originally written in Hebrew throughout; that afterwards an Aramaic translation was made; and that the Aramaic section, which the present Hebrew text contains, is part of that translation.

Hence [he writes],* the hypothesis that Daniel was originally written in Hebrew throughout, is quite in accordance with analogy. At the same time we have to remember that the author lived in a time of intense excitement, and his book was evidently meant, not for a small circle, but for all "the holy people" (see especially xi. 33; xii. 3). His object was to produce an immediate and powerful effect. Since, however, the Hebrew language was then unintelligible to the vulgar, or very imperfectly understood by them, the need of a translation would at once be felt. We cannot therefore regard it as improbable that the author himself, or one of his associates, issued an Aramaic version of the book, or at least of some parts of it. In any case the style of the Hebrew and of the Aramaic portions is so similar that we may confidently pronounce them to be products of the same school, if not of the same pen. But if the book was originally written throughout in Hebrew, why, it may be asked, has it reached us in its present form? The most plausible supposition is that a portion of the Hebrew text having been lost, a scribe filled up the gap by borrowing from the Aramaic version.

In fact, Mr. Bevan conjectures that during the persecution of Antiochus Epiphanes,† when a systematic attempt was being

* "The Book of Daniel," p. 27.

† Reigned from 176-164 B.C.

made to destroy all the copies of the Law; and when as yet only a few copies of Daniel existed part of the Hebrew text was lost or destroyed; and that the omissions had to be made up from the Aramaic version. Mr. Bevan would, of course, hold the Book of Daniel to belong to the time of Antiochus (176-164) (p. 23); but in this he would but be following the almost unanimous verdict of critical scholarship. Professor Cheyne fixes the date as between December 165 and June 164:* though Dr. Driver contents himself with laying down that while the book could not have been composed before the year 300 B.C., probably it belonged to B.C. 168 or 167.†

There seems to be little doubt that the language of Daniel manifests a comparatively late date; in fact, that there are in it many indications of the Greek or Macedonian period. There are a considerable number of Persian words,‡ which would seem to point to a date when Persia had grown to be a great power and had made its influence felt throughout the East. There are even some words of Greek origin; and do not these indicate a period after the Conquests of Alexander the Great, when Greek customs and arts and civilization began to be known and appreciated in Asia?§ Nor is this all. The Hebrew of Daniel is unlike that of pre-exilic times; nor has it even much in common with that of the post-exilic prophets. It approximates more closely to that of Esther and the Books of Chronicles; even to the Rabbinical Hebrew. Finally, the Aramaic of Daniel is not the Eastern Aramaic of Mesopotamia, Syria and Babylonia, which might be expected from one writing in Babylonia in the sixth century B.C.; but the Western Aramaic of the Jewish Targums and the Palestinian Talmud. It must not be imagined, however, that because Greek influence in Asia began, it may be said, with the Conquests of Alexander the Great, no Greek words had found their way into the Semitic languages before that date. There may be, and doubtless there are, many Hebrew words of Greek origin, which formed part of the Hebrew language long before the days of the Babylonian captivity. This influence of Greek upon

* "Founders of Old Testament Criticism," p. 369.

† "Literature of the Old Testament," p. 467.

‡ Probably at least 15, cf. Driver, p. 469.

§ Note especially the musical terms *קיתרם*, *פסנתרין*, *סומפניה*.

Hebrew may have had place in many ways; here it will suffice to suggest one, alluded to by the late M. Renan, an acknowledged authority upon the Semitic languages.

It is rarely [he writes]* that a great influence exercised by one nation over another does not leave its trace in the words. Many Philistine words were doubtlessly introduced into Hebrew in the days of David. The language of the Philistines was, as we have said, a Pelasgic dialect, inclining now towards Greek, now towards Latin. We are led to believe that it is to this profound influence of the Philistines upon Israel, towards the year one thousand before Jesus Christ, that we should ascribe the introduction into the Hebrew tongue of these words of Greek and Latin appearance, almost exclusively referring to military or erotic things, which are met with in the most ancient texts. Such are *prbv* or *prbl*, where I fancy I recognise the word *peribolos*, the circuit of the fortifications of a city, the precinct, *mekéra*, equivalent to *machæra*, a dagger; perhaps *mekona*, which would be the same as *machina*; *liska* which has quite the sense of *lesché*; *captor*, which recalls *capitul*, the capital (of a pillar), and above all the singular word *pellex*, with the sense of courtesan, which has existed in the Semitic languages from a very remote epoch.

If words of apparently Greek origin found their way into the Semitic languages as early as the tenth century B.C., it would certainly be, to say the least, rash to assign a late date to a writing, merely because it contains words which seem connected with the Greek. Nor ought the fact to be overlooked, that very often words of temptingly Hellenic appearance may turn out after all to be really of quite different origin. Thus, does not Professor Sayce make it very likely † that *appiryón* (Song of Songs, iii. 9), usually taken to be the Greek word *φορῆιον*, is really connected with the Assyrian *aparné*; and that *pardes*, so like the Greek *παράδεισος*, may really be a corruption for *παρές*, from the Assyrian *pir'su*, meaning a "garden?"

These facts will no doubt make one slow to decide the age of a Hebrew writing, on the ground merely of the presence in it of a certain number of words, seemingly of Greek origin. There are, however, in the Book of Daniel two words which seem to be Greek, סומכניה and פסנתרין—names apparently of musical instruments—and which are said to imply a degree of civilization and knowledge of harmony not likely, to say the least, to

* "Histoire du Peuple d'Israel," vol. ii. p. 33.

† "Higher Criticism and the Monuments," p. 491.

have existed in Greece in the sixth century before Christ. In fact, as Professor Sayce shows,* at that time, the arts and inventions of civilized life streamed from the East into Greece, rather than from Greece into the East: and hence it is hardly probable that such words as those given above should have found their way from Greek to Hebrew in the sixth century B.C.

But here comes in the importance of the explanation given by Mr. Bevan and other writers of the presence in Daniel of a large section written in Aramaic. If the Aramaic chapters contain merely a translation of the original work, then all calculations based on the character of the Aramaic are entirely beside the question as to when the Hebrew edition of Daniel was first committed to writing. If a certain number of Persian and Greek words are found in the Aramaic, the most that can be deduced from their presence is that the translation cannot have been made before such and such a date. Now the words פספסין, סומפניה, and קיתרם occur exclusively in the Aramaic chapters of Daniel; and hence have no bearing on the date of the original work. Doubtless the Greek, with which one of them is connected (*συμφωνία*), was a word well known in the time of Antiochus Epiphanes, and probably at his court.† But the most that can be argued from the presence of these words in Daniel is that the Aramaic translation was made "after the dissemination of Greek influences in Asia through the conquests of Alexander the Great."‡

If, however, the Aramaic of Daniel does not give any clue to the date at which the book was composed, how is it as to the Hebrew sections? For are not the Hebrew chapters parts of the Book, as it left the author's hand? And does not the Hebrew of Daniel betray signs of late authorship? Is it not unlike the Hebrew of the sixth century before Christ?

It may be said [writes Mr. Bevan §] that the Hebrew style of Daniel differs widely from that of exilic and pre-exilic times, and agrees, in its main features, with the latest historical prose in the Old Testament, while in some important details it approximates to the Hebrew of the Mishnah and the Talmud. At the same time the author borrows many isolated words and phrases from the Pentateuch and the Prophets, and this is precisely what we might expect to find in a book written by a Jew of the Macedonian age in the name of an ancient seer.

* *Contemporary Review*, Dec. 1878.

‡ Driver, *l.c.* p. 471.

† "Polybius," book xxvi.

§ *Op. cit.* p. 32.

Does then the character of the Hebrew in Daniel settle the question as to when it was written and assign it decisively to the Maccabean age? It would not seem so.

There was no practice more common among Hebrew writers, according to the teaching of modern critical science, than that of the revision or recasting of sacred writings. Thus of the Hexateuch, which the sopherim had "produced" "before the end of the fifth century,"* Kuenen writes that "the text . . . not only here and there, but throughout, was handled with a certain freedom in the third century, and yet more so previously, being still subject to what its guardians considered amendments." The redaction of the Hexateuch he regards "as a labour that was only provisionally closed at first, and was long subsequently continued and rounded off." In fact "the redaction of the Hexateuch assumes the form of a continuous diaskeue or diorthosis." The same is the case with the Book of Judges, which we have now, not in its primitive shape, but in a "revised form."† Wellhausen writes also: "The comprehensive revision which we noticed in the Book of Judges has left its mark on the Books of Samuel too" (p. 245). Yes, and the redaction of Kings was uniform with that of Judges and Samuel (p. 277). That this process of re-editing was not wanting among the prophets is also a recognised tenet of modern criticism. Indeed, to such an extent does it sometimes go that, as Professor Kirkpatrick says of Jeremiah:‡ "There can be little doubt that the book existed in what we may call a longer and a shorter recension, the former of which is represented by the Hebrew text, and the latter by the Septuagint."

Such being the not uncommon practice of Jewish writers, it would not be surprising to find that Daniel had been "rounded off" many years after it had first been written. Nor are there wanting reasons for thinking it likely, on the supposition that the traditional view of the part played by Daniel during his lifetime is correct, that later editors put their hands to his work. For Daniel is recorded to have been taken into the

* Kuenen, "The Hexateuch," p. 314.

† Wellhausen, "Prolegomena," p. 232.

‡ "Divine Library," p. 21.

service of the king of Babylon at an early age.* There he was instructed in the language and learning of the Chaldæans. He lived chiefly with the Babylonians; he was a high official at the king's court; he did not see much of his own countrymen; and it is not unnatural to suppose that his Hebrew, though doubtless he was acquainted with that language, had a decidedly Babylonian flavour. The Hebrew sopherim might well therefore have taken it in hand to correct it, and the result would have been the Hebrew of Daniel as it now exists—having certain phraseological and verbal affinities with the Pentateuch and older prophetic writings; betraying in many respects the hand of a later writer, and containing a stray Babylonian word here and there.†

Does it then appear that Daniel wrote the book that bears his name, practically in its present form; and that, at a later date, say in the reign of Antiochus Epiphanes, the work was polished up in style and translated into Aramaic. Such is not the view maintained here. On that supposition, the difficulty would remain to account for the absence of Daniel from the list of great men given in the Book of Ecclesiasticus. And, moreover, it would leave the bilingual character of Daniel still a mystery. For though on the supposition that, in its completed form, the Book of Daniel had not existed many years, at the time of the persecution of Antiochus Epiphanes, and, consequently, that but few copies existed, it is quite reasonable to suppose, with Mr. Bevan, that part of the Hebrew text got lost or destroyed, and only survived in the Aramaic translation; still, such a supposition would be extremely unlikely, if the book had been in existence as early as the sixth century B.C. How then is it proposed to account for the Book of Daniel in its present form?

The abbé Loisy writes as follows respecting the Book of Daniel, in his work upon the history of the Old Testament Canon, p. 40.

Daniel, selon toutes les probabilités, n'acquies de notoriété en Palestine que dans le cours du second siècle avant notre ère, à une époque où la collection des prophètes était depuis longtemps arrêtée: c'est pourquoi

* Dr. Driver writes, "Daniel, it cannot be doubted, was a historical person," "Lit. of O. T.," p. 479.

† There are only a few Babylonian words, cf. Bevan, p. 40.

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il n'a pu s'y introduire : on peut croire, ce me semble, dit l'abbé Glaire, tout en admettant, comme je le fais, la parfaite authenticité du livre de Daniel, que ce recueil, ayant été formé à Babylone, et peut-être après la mort de l'auteur, aura été apporté un peu tard à Jerusalem, et n'aura pu trouver sa place qu'à la suite des autres ouvrages dont se composait déjà le canon (Introduction (éd. 1868) t. 1, p. 53).

The same idea had been already put forward by M. Quatremère in the *Journal des Savants* (Oct. 1845), and Ubaldi appears to think it not without support from the internal characteristics of the book.* Indeed many of the new critical school regard Daniel as based on earlier writings. Thus, to quote Professor Cheyne, "Reuss and Lagarde both held that the book was made up of a number of separate "fly-sheets," and Dr. C. H. H. Wright maintains that it is but an abridgment of a larger work."† Dr. Driver admits that "perhaps written materials were at the disposal of the author" (p. 479).

It is not unreasonable to suppose that Daniel the prophet committed to writing a number of prophecies both during the exile and after. In this he would but be acting in conformity with the not uncommon prophetic practice. For we know that many of the prophets committed their prophecies to writing; and that prophets kept the records of the kingdoms of Juda and Israel. But the fact that he lived in comparative isolation from his people; that he did not, like an Isaiah or a Jeremiah, spend his life in presence of his fellow countrymen; that he did not address them in season and out of season; and rejoice in their joys and mourn in their sorrows, would account for no collection of his writings having been published at an early date. There was no doubt some informal collection from the first, which may have been included in the library collected by Nehemias (2 Macc. ii. 13-17). But there was no school formed by him to insist upon their immediate publication; to impress their importance on the people. There was no popular cry for them, raised by those whom he had so often moved to enthusiasm, penance, fervour by his words. So perhaps they lay in the archives of Jerusalem; studied, it may be, by a few, unknown to the many. And so the name

* "Introductio in Sac. Scripturam," vol. ii. p. 156,

† "Founders of O. T. Criticism," p. 339.

of Daniel, little thought of, was passed over in silence by the writer of Ecclesiasticus.

Then came sad times for Israel in the days of the Greek ascendancy. Perhaps it may have been in the time of the arch-persecutor Antiochus Epiphanes, who endeavoured to hellenize Israel; to destroy the dominion of Jehovah; to establish a new kingdom, based on paganism. Ridicule, contempt, persecution, death were the lot of the faithful Jew; safety, promotion, honour the reward of the renegade. Jehovah seemed conquered by a Gentile king, and doubtless many a heart grew faint in Israel.

Now it was, perhaps, that some learned scribe in Jerusalem conceived the design of sending forth among the people the prophecies of the seer Daniel. Their reference to the crisis through which they were passing seemed undoubted. Doubtless they would do much to restore men's confidence in God—to animate them in their conflict with Gentile wickedness; for in them they would see the victories of Jehovah over Nebuchadnezzar and other great men of old; and, it was obvious for them to conclude, that as He had triumphed before, so now again He could give victory to the weak over the strong.

In thus publishing the prophecies of Daniel, the editor was acting with a set purpose and object in view—viz., to strengthen his fellow-countrymen in their conflict with Antiochus; to preserve them from idolatry; and to keep them in their allegiance with Jehovah. The Book of Daniel, in fact, came into being (under the influence of course of Divine Inspiration) like the other books of the Old Testament, to supply a want. Was not the Book of Judges written to keep the Israelites in the observance of the Law, by showing how God punished the people when they fell into idolatry, and lent them His help when they sincerely repented?*. And may it not be said that the editors of Samuel and Kings wrote with the same object in view?† Or, perhaps, as Cornely supposes,‡ Samuel was written to show the fidelity of God towards Israel; and Kings to exhibit his justice, in the destruction of the two kingdoms. In

* Cornely, "Introductio," p. 229. Wellhausen, "Proleg.," p. 228, &c.

† Wellhausen, p. 241.

‡ *Loc. cit.*, p. 241, 249.

any case, these books were all published for a fixed purpose, important to the people at the time in which they were written. None of them pretend to be complete histories, written merely to make known the story of the past; they set forth past events before the reader, only in so far as is necessary to carry out the object of the writer.

The editor of Daniel acts in the same way. It is not necessary to suppose that he introduced into his volume all the prophecies of Daniel. He may have omitted some, because they were not necessary for his purpose; he may only be giving a small part of what was in reality a large volume of writings; he may, in fact, have compiled the Book of Daniel much in the same way as the writings of the other prophets are acknowledged to have been compiled. For no one supposes that in the case of the prophetic books we are in possession of a full report of the writings of the prophets. Thus Father Cornely says:* "Most of the prophetic books seem to be only an epitome of the discourses which the prophets delivered, *viva voce*, before the people"; and Professor Kirkpatrick expresses the same idea from another point of view: "Some of the discourses," he writes,† "are only condensed summaries of teaching which extended over considerable periods, and others in all probability notes, and sometimes fragmentary notes, of their master's teaching, preserved by the prophet's disciples."

If such a view as we have been sketching of the origin of the Book of Daniel be founded on reason and probability, many of the chief difficulties urged against its authenticity will fall to the ground.

(1) Its position in the Jewish Canon would be accounted for. For, though Daniel may have committed much to writing, still his prophecies had not been formed into a published volume; and hence they were not received into the Canon of the Prophets when that volume was closed, perhaps in the time of Nehemias.

(2) The omission of the name of "Daniel" among the worthies of Israel by Siracides in the Book of Ecclesiasticus, would also be accounted for. Because he had not yet attained to that fame which he acquired in later days, when his name

* "Introductio," p. 369.

† "Divine Library," p. 16.

went forth with his prophecies among the people and became a household word with all.

(3) The general argument from language would cease to have any force. Such a term as the "Chaldæans" might well have been introduced by the later editor, as a well-known name for a certain class of magicians; and, though not in use in the sixth century B.C., it may accurately express a class existing at that time. Moreover, the age and circumstances of the editor may account for mis-spells occurring in proper names; to the same cause may be perhaps assigned the confusion sometimes existing in the matter of etymology—for if the editor of Daniel lived at a time when the Babylonian empire had passed away, it is not unlikely that he did not always fully understand the manuscripts he was at work upon.

(4) Then in the matter of Belshazzar being represented as King of Babylon. Here the very fact of Daniel's long residence in Babylonia may have led to confusion. In the Babylonian dialect, the words for "king" and "prince" do not seem to have been very clearly distinguished in use, in the days of Daniel; and the fact that the words are used ordinarily in exactly the opposite sense to the corresponding Hebrew words, may account for the independent position assigned to Belshazzar. Professor Sayce writes* as follows concerning an inscription of Cyrus belonging to the period immediately after the conquest of Chaldæa.

"Twice we find *maliku*, the Hebrew *melech*, used in the sense of "king" in the place of *sarru*, the Hebrew *sar*. Everywhere else in cuneiform literature *sarru* is the "king," *maliku*, the subordinate "prince." It is only here that the Hebrew usage is followed, according to which *melech* was the "king" and *sar* the "prince."

It may be therefore that the word *melech* as applied to Belshazzar ought not to be pressed too closely. Nor is it fair to interpret the language of orientals as we should that of our own country in the nineteenth century. Even if Belshazzar were not actually *de jure* king; if *de facto* he enjoyed regal powers in Babylon, and were the king's son, heir to the throne, and that king far from popular, it is only natural to find super-

* "Higher Criticism and the Monuments," p. 504.

latives used in his regard where we should be content with the positive degree; to find him spoken of, in his own court, and surrounded by his servants and flatterers, as if he were sole and supreme ruler of the empire.

(5) The same confusion between the use of *mal'ku* and *sarru* may throw light upon the case of Darius the Mede. But Dr. Driver seems to hesitate to pronounce the existence of such a king impossible; in this, following the example of Mr. Pinches. "The circumstances are not perhaps such," writes Dr. Driver (p. 469) "as to be absolutely inconsistent with either the existence or office of 'Darius the Mede;'" and a cautious criticism will not build too much on the silence of the inscriptions, where many certainly remain yet to be brought to light."

(6) It hardly seems sufficient reason to deny the early date of the Book of Daniel, because the writer says "he" understood by *the books* "בספרים), the number of years for which, according to Jeremiah, Jerusalem should lie waste."* It may, no doubt, be taken for granted that by the term "the books" used in Daniel, some kind of collection of the writings of the prophets, including Jeremiah, is referred to.† But there seems no reason to suppose that some such collection or collections should not have existed in time for Daniel to have made use of them. The abbé Loisy seems very fairly to outline the history of the collection of the prophetic writings in the following words:‡

Il est tout naturel de penser que les œuvres des prophètes restaient aux mains de leurs disciples, qui les étudiaient et qui nous les ont conservées. Pendant l'exil et après le retour de la captivité, les héritiers de la tradition monothéiste et prophétique réunirent les débris de cette littérature. Les livres d'Isaïe et de Jérémie, que ne semblent pas avoir été compilés par leurs auteurs mêmes, ont dû recevoir à cette époque la forme qu'ils ont maintenant. Alors aussi on fit la collection des petits prophètes.

It would seem in fact that collections of the writings of the prophets remained in the hands of their disciples; doubtless

* Driver, p. 469.

† It is by no means unanimously held that "the books" here refers to a collection of the Prophets. Thus Mr. Bevan thinks "the Pentateuch" is alluded to. P. 149.

‡ "Histoire du Canon de l'Ancien Testament," p. 36.

such collections had great weight, and there was a tendency, from the desire of students to possess copies of the writings of as many of the prophets as possible for their own use, towards the formation of collections of the prophetic writings; a tendency which culminated at a later day, in the Canon of the Prophets. Why may not Daniel have referred to some such collection as one of these? Why should not some such collection have existed in his time?

The above sketch does not pretend to contain a refutation of the many arguments arrayed against the authenticity of the Book of Daniel; arguments which may be acknowledged to be both numerous and weighty. In this paper, indeed, many have not even been mentioned. All that has been attempted is to suggest a way in which the Book of Daniel may have come into existence, without denying the authorship of the prophecies contained in it to Daniel; and to show that, on the theory advocated, many of the arguments usually levelled against the early date of the prophecies of Daniel fall to the ground. One great objection still remains against the authenticity of the book—the fact that, if written in the sixth century B.C., it contains prophecies, in the usual acceptance of the word. The argument supported here postulates the possibility and actual occurrence of prophecy. In Daniel, the state of affairs, in the time of Antiochus Epiphanes, seems clearly delineated. For one, therefore, who does not believe that the prophets received from God power to foretell future events, the book must belong to the second century B.C. On the other hand, if the power of revealing what is to happen in the future be conceded as one of the prophetic gifts, there are many arguments which go to show that Daniel was really responsible for the prophecies which bear his name.

It must be remembered too, that there are certain words used in the Book of Daniel, at the end of the prophecies, which lend a certain amount of support to the theory advocated above. "But thou, O Daniel," says the Angel (xii. 4), "shut up the words, and seal the book, even to the appointed time;" words which seem to apply, not merely to the angelic revelation, but to the entire Book of Daniel.* What do these words mean?

* Bevan, p. 202.

Do they not seem to refer to a hiding away of Daniel's prophecies till a later day? Till the "appointed time?" And is it not natural to identify the "appointed time" with the days of Antiochus Epiphanes, to which so many of the prophecies seem to apply—when such a prophecy would have had so powerful an influence—and at which period, so many scholars seem to hold, that Daniel, in its present form, was written?

J. A. HOWLETT.

ART. IV.—ORIGIN AND HISTORY OF THE SEPTUAGINT.

THE great and valuable assistance which the Septuagint has quite recently yielded to the work of removing from our present Hebrew or Massoretic text many of its numerous literary defects, has induced us to devote a few pages to the subject of its origin and history.

The translation of the Hebrew Scriptures into Greek, the commencement of which may be placed in the middle of the third century B.C., was undertaken for the use and benefit of the Hellenistic Jews, more especially of those in Alexandria and Egypt. Already as early as the beginning of the sixth century B.C., when numerous citizens of the kingdom of Judea were carried away by the Chaldeans to the various provinces of their extensive empire, many Jews left their country to seek a place of refuge and security in Egypt (4 Kings xxv. 26). About two centuries and a half later (331 B.C.), Alexander, being master of the East, laid in Egypt the foundations of a city, which was to be called after him Alexandria. Hither he brought a colony of Jews, assigning to them a certain part of the city for their abode ("Josephus against Apion," ii. 4). In the year 320 B.C., Ptolemy Soter, who, after Alexander's death, had made himself master of Egypt, seized upon Jerusalem, carried away a great number of captives, both Jews and Samaritans, and settled them in Egypt ("Antiquities," xii. 1, § 1), while not a few Jews followed of their own accord, induced by the fertility of the land and the liberality of Ptolemy. Consequently, the colony of Jews in Alexandria, under Ptolemy Philadelphus, Soter's successor, must have been considerable. Josephus, moreover, tells us ("Ant." xii. chap. 2, § 3), that money was given by Philadelphus for the ransom of no less than 100,000 Jewish slaves; and, however exaggerated this statement may be, yet we may conclude from it that the Hebrew colony in Egypt formed at that time a numerous community.

Alexandria was, and during the first succeeding centuries remained, a Greek city. Not only was the city founded by a

Greek-speaking nation, but it soon developed into one of the most important commercial places of the world, at a time when Greek was a language very generally spoken. The successors, moreover, of Ptolemy I. did their best to promote in Alexandria the various branches of culture and intellectual activity; they meant to make their city a centre of Grecian art, literature and science. For this purpose a museum was built, where scholars and men of science found lodging, support, and opportunity for study and instruction. A library also was formed, such as had not been heard of before, and which Livy could rightly name "*Elegantiae regum curaeque egregium opus.*" In short, Alexandria became a second Athens.

Such was the society in which the Jewish settlers found themselves. Yet here, as elsewhere, the Jews preserved their national character, and remained a nation distinct from the people amongst whom they lived. They did not cease to be a Semitic race although they dwelt in the centre of Greek civilisation; nor did they lose their attachment for the religion of their fathers or their zeal for the observance of the law, although, without temple or altar themselves, they were surrounded by the magnificent structures of heathen temples, where they could daily see the rites of pagan worship performed with all possible splendour. Then, as now, the religion of Jehovah was deeply rooted in the heart of the devout Jew, and the law, with its peculiar prescriptions, had drawn so sharp a distinction between Israel and all other nations that amalgamation or absorption was a moral impossibility.

Though deeply cherishing his nationality and his religion, the Jew was not prevented from having intercourse with his neighbours of Alexandria. If we may rely upon the account of Josephus, the Jewish settlers had received from Alexander, and afterwards from Ptolemy Soter and Philadelphus, not only civil freedom, but also privileges almost equal to those of the Macedonians. These advantages placed the Jews on a somewhat equal line with the Greeks; they made it possible for them to improve their condition through commercial enterprise, and consequently brought them into frequent contact with their fellow citizens. Hence the absolute necessity for the Jews to learn the Greek language, and we may safely hold that they

were not slow in adopting it; on the contrary, in the case of many, Greek had, before long, taken the place of their native Aramaic, which, in consequence of disuse, was gradually forgotten.

In proportion as the use of the Greek language increased amongst the Hellenistic Jews, the need of a Greek translation of the Mosaic law made itself felt. Having become strangers with regard to their national language, it was necessary that their sacred books, for which their veneration and love had remained unchanged, should be read to them in the language which they understood. For this purpose the Greek translation, known as the version of the Septuagint, was made.

According to a legend—generally believed as true—in the first centuries after Christ, but now by many rejected as a fable, the version was made by the express wish and order of King Philadelphus. The oldest and more simple form of this legend is known to us from the so-called letter of Aristeas, a person at the court of Philadelphus, written to his brother Polycrates. This letter gives an account of how the translation was made.

Ptolemy Philadelphus, having heard from his librarian, Demetrius Phalerius, concerning the sacred law books of the Hebrews, desired to possess a translation of them that he might place it in his library at Alexandria. In order to secure for this work the goodwill and co-operation of the Jews in Palestine, Ptolemy set about procuring the liberty of those of their countrymen in Egypt who still were in slavery. He then sent ambassadors to the high-priest Eleazar in Jerusalem, who thankfully received the costly presents made to him by the king, and in return sent seventy-two of the learned men amongst the Jews, six of every tribe, that they might make the translation the king desired. They were received in Egypt with great distinction, and after some time accomplished their work, which gave great satisfaction to their countrymen, and which met with the full approval of the king, from whom they departed with many presents to return to their own country.

This anecdote already accepted by Philo ("De Vita Moysis," lib. ii.), and by Josephus, ("Ant." xii. 2), found much credit amongst the earlier Fathers, who even adorned it with additions. St. Justin the Martyr, for instance, informs us that the seventy

translators lived and worked in so many separate cells, without any communication, and that, notwithstanding this strict seclusion, their versions were found to agree not merely as to the correctness wherewith they had rendered the meaning of the original, but even to the very words, even to the minutest particulars, which circumstance so greatly astounded the King that he attributed it to a special divine assistance. Justin, moreover, for fear that the Greeks should think this account fictitious, asserted that he had seen the ruins of these cells in the island of Pharos. (*"Justinus Cohortatio ad Graecos,"* c. 13). A similar account is given by Irenaeus and Clemens Alexandrinus, who appear to have had no difficulty in admitting it because of the still greater miracle which had happened when Esdras, assisted by special inspiration, rewrote from memory all the sacred books which had perished by fire. (*"Iren."* iii., 21 *Clem. Alex. "Strom."* i. p. 342). St. Jerome, on the other hand, adhering to the epistle of Aristeas, strongly repudiated this later version of the story. "*Nescio quis primus auctor septuaginta cellulas Alexandriae medacio suo extruxerit.*" (St. Jerome, "*Prol. in Pentat.*").

The legend, both in its more original and later form, was evidently invented to raise the authority of the Greek translation. Hitzig has put forth the supposition, that the Greek version was originally called the "*Version of the Seventy,*" not because it was made by seventy-two translators, but because it was approved of by the seventy members of the Alexandrine Synedrium, and that its name subsequently gave rise to the wonderful fable concerning its origin. (*"Gesch. der Volkes Israel,"* 341). Whether this supposition is plausible or not, we cannot decide, but, in any case, the legend on the whole appears to deserve no credit, except in so far as it assigns the translation to the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus, who perhaps might have shown some interest in the work.

The letter of Aristeas is by all acknowledged to be a forgery composed perhaps in the first century before Christ, by a Hellenistic Jew. Its Greek is barbarous, full of Hebrew expressions, and its sentiments are distinctly Jewish. Independently of the letter of Aristeas, an appeal is sometimes made to the testimony of Aristobolus by those who still wish to uphold as trustworthy the story of the seventy-two translators.

From the writings of Clemens Alexandrinus and Eusebius we know that Aristobolus was a Jewish philosopher who lived at Alexandria during the reign of Ptolemy Philometor, (170–150 B.C.). He is probably the same person who is mentioned in the second book of the *Macchabees* (i. 10) as having been the preceptor of the king. A work is attributed to him named “An explanation of the Law of Moses,” which he is said to have dedicated to the King, and of which, certain fragments have been preserved by Clemens and Eusebius. Judging from the contents of these fragments, Aristobolus’ work seems to have been not so much a commentary on the Sacred Text as a free reproduction of the history of the Pentateuch for the purpose of showing to the cultured heathen world that the Mosaic law, when rightly understood, contained all that the best Greek philosophers had taught. His chief object therefore was, as Clemens tells us, “To show that the Peripatetic philosophy was dependent on the law of Moses and the writings of the other prophets” (“*Strom.*” v. 595).

In a passage of this work quoted by Clemens, (“*Strom.*” i. 22) and Eusebius, (“*Praep. Evang.*” xiii. 12), Aristobolus informs us that part of the Pentateuch had already been translated before the conquest of Alexander and the Persians, so that even Plato had known the Jewish law and had borrowed from it, but that the entire translation of Israel’s code was accomplished under Philadelphus.

For before Demetrius Phalerius, even before the conquests of Alexander and the Persians, a translation was made by others narrating the Exodus of the Hebrews, our countrymen, from Egypt, and all the events that had happened to them, and the occupation of the land and the explanation of the entire law; so that it is manifest that the afore-said philosopher (Plato) has borrowed much from them. . . . But the translation of the entire law took place under the king called Philadelphus, thy forefather, because of the great interest and zealous endeavours of Demetrius Phalerius.

The authenticity of the writings of Aristobolus has been disputed by several modern scholars, (Eichhorn, Kuenen, Grätz and Joël). It appears to them improbable that Aristobolus held the absurd opinion that philosophers such as Pythagoras, Socrates, Plato, and poets such as Homer and Hesiod, had borrowed from the doctrine and writings of Moses. They

point out how unlikely it is that Aristobolus, in a work dedicated to the king, should have quoted, as verses of Orpheus, Hesiod and Homer, that which is beyond question the work of some Hellenistic Jew. If, on the whole, the authenticity of Aristobolus' works is doubtful, the passage giving account of how the translation of the Septuagint was made is yet more so for the following reasons. It is in the first place strange that Aristobolus, while designating the Hebrews as "our countrymen," speaks of "the land" (Palestine) without mentioning its name. Can we suppose that Aristobolus would have written in this manner to the King of Egypt, who no doubt knew that the Hebrews were Aristobolus' countrymen, but for whom it was certainly not superfluous to mention the name of Palestine, a country to him of comparatively little importance? It is, moreover, extremely improbable that Demetrius ever had been librarian at the Court of King Philadelphus. On the contrary, there are good reasons for believing that Demetrius was exiled by Philadelphus immediately after this king's accession to the throne, and that he shortly afterwards died. Can we admit that Aristobolus, in a writing addressed to the king, should have committed such a great historical error? Does it not appear to be more probable that the passage in question, like the rest of the work from which it is taken, is falsely attributed to the philosopher Aristobolus by one of the ἀλᾶζονες Ἰουδαῖοι who, with the authority of Aristobolus, wished to corroborate the idea, not a little flattering to the Jews, that the Greek writers of antiquity had been dependent on their sacred books, and that their Greek version of the bible owed its origin to the special interest which King Philadelphus had shown in their literature.

As the need of a translation of the bible was not restricted to the Pentateuch, a Greek version first of the prophetic books, and subsequently of the Hagiographa also, soon made its appearance. Neither the time when the various books were translated nor the names of the translators are known. As some of the Hagiographa, for instance, Daniel, and certain psalms, were not written before the Machabean age, the Greek translation of the entire Hebrew bible cannot have been finished before the middle of the second century B.C. On the other hand, it is certain that towards the end of the same cen-

tury, a Greek version of most of the Hebrew books existed, for the translator of Ecclesiasticus mentions in his prologue, that on his arrival in Egypt (132 B.C.), he found a translation of the Law, the Prophets, and Hagiographa. "And not only these, but also the law itself, and the prophets and the rest of the books, (Hagiographa), have no small difference when they are read in their own language;" (prol. to Eccli.). It is, therefore, very probable that the version of the Septuagint was finished about the commencement of the first century B.C. The opinion of Dr. Grätz that the translation of Ecclesiastes is the work of Aquila does not find much favour amongst critics.

The Greek of the Septuagint is the so-called "Dialectus Communis," which, after the age of Alexander, was more generally used. Hebrew and Aramaic expressions are naturally of frequent occurrence, for, as the Greek language possesses no adequate words to express certain Hebrew ideas, a meaning is sometimes given to Greek words (for instance, δόξα, εἰρήνη) which they did not possess before.

Since the Septuagint is the work of more than one translator, there is naturally much difference in the translation of its separate books. It is evident that the translators were not all equally capable, and that they were unequally versed in the knowledge of Hebrew and Greek. It is generally held that the translation of the Pentateuch is both as regards fidelity of rendering and correctness of language superior to that of the other books. Jerome says of it: "Quem nos quoque profite-mur plus quam cæteros consonare cum hebraeis exemplaribus." The translation of the other historic books may be said to hold the second place. A very inferior translation is that of Ecclesiastes. The translator of this book seems not always to have understood his original, with the consequence that he has sometimes obscured the meaning of passages which in the Hebrew text are comparatively clear. On the whole, he aimed at a very literal translation by substituting for every Hebrew word a Greek word, forgetful that the Greek construction often renders Hebrew prepositions superfluous. For instance, he repeatedly renders the Hebrew *Nota accusativi* "eth" with σύν. *Ex. gr.* Eccl. ii. 17: "καὶ ἐμίσησα σύν τὴν ζωὴν" = "So I hated life." As regards the Greek translation of the books of Esther and Daniel, it appears that the translator has performed

his work in a very free and independent manner, or else that others have made in his translation the many changes, additions, and omissions by which the original account is not a little changed.

The use of the Septuagint did not remain restricted to the Jewish colony in Alexandria and Egypt, but soon extended itself to the Hebrew settlements in Asia and Europe. Even in Palestine the Septuagint was known, and although it was not publicly read in the Synagogues, it was, at least by some, privately used and studied. Flavius Josephus, a Palestinian Jew, frequently quotes and follows it. The Hebrew Bible, however, always remained the official text in Palestine, and consequently the Septuagint was the bible of the Jews of the Diaspora, and as such became a means in the hands of Providence to spread the knowledge of the true God amongst the heathen, and so to prepare the way for the religion of Christ.

From the Jews the Septuagint passed into the hands of the Christians. The Christian religion, less successful in Palestine, found a more ready acceptance amongst the heathens and Jewish settlers in foreign countries, and, owing to the work of St. Paul, made vast and rapid conquests amongst them. The newly converted Christians naturally adopted the Septuagint, which alone they could understand, and with which such amongst them as were either Jews or proselytes were already acquainted. This circumstance well explains why the writers of the New Testament use by preference the Septuagint when quoting passages from the Old Testament books. They accommodated themselves in this to their Christians, to whom the Hebrew text was unknown.

After the time of the Apostles the Septuagint version remained the standard text amongst the Christians until the time of St. Jerome. The apostolic and apologetic "Fathers" constantly used it, and, if we except Origen, hardly ever doubted its correctness. In their judgment the Septuagint possessed an authority equal to that of the Hebrew text, for, as we have already pointed out, some of them held that the Septuagint was translated with the special assistance of the Holy Ghost. It is not astonishing, therefore, that Justin and Irenæus should have defended the Septuagint rendering "*Behold the virgin* (*παρθένος* = *virgo*) shall conceive and bring forth a son," of the prophecy of Isaias, vii. 14, against

the translation of Aquila and Theodotion, "Behold the *maiden* (*νεανίς* = *adolescentula*) shall conceive and bring forth a son."^{*}

In proportion as the Septuagint became more and more the bible of the Christians, it ceased to be the bible of the Jews. The constant use which the Christians made of it in their encounters with the Jews, could not but make the latter averse to its authority. Justin, in his dialogue with Trypho, clearly shows how in his time the Jews already distrusted and hated it.

But I do not approve of your teachers, who will not consent that the seventy ancients by Ptolemy, the king of the Egyptians, have given a correct translation, but who themselves undertook to make a translation. Nor do I wish you to be ignorant that they have suppressed from the translation, made by the ancients who were with Ptolemy, a part of the scriptures from which it can be clearly proved that He who was crucified had been foretold as God and man, as crucified and dying.[†]

This growing diffidence and aversion amongst the Jews as regards the Septuagint explains why in Talmudic legends the day of its translation is considered an evil day. Of the fast on the 8th day of Tebeth it is said, "because on that day the Law was written in Greek under King Ptolemy, and darkness came over the earth." (*Megillath-Ta'anith*, f. 50, c. 2). And in *Tract. Sophar*, the day, "on which the five ancients wrote the law in Greek," is called, "an evil day for Israel, a day like the day on which the golden calf was made."

Since the Septuagint had become the bible of the Christians, a new translation of the Hebrew scriptures was needed for the use of the Hellenistic Jews. This translation was first made by Aquila, according to Irenaeus who first makes mention of him, a Jewish proselyte from Pontus. The Jerusalem Talmud, ("*Megilla*," i., 11, f. 71^c), says of him: "Aquila the proselyte translated the Thorah in the time of R. Eliezer and R. Josua; they praised him and said to him, 'Thou art the most beautiful amongst the children of men.' (Ps. 45)." The account which Epiphanius gives of Aquila deserves little credit. According to him Aquila was a relative of the Emperor Hadrian, and a convert to the Christian faith, but, because of his liking for astrology, he was expelled from the Christian community and

^{*} "Iren." iii., c. 21; St. Just. "Dial. cum Tryph.," § 71.

[†] "Dial. cum Tryph.," § 71; compare §§ 79 and 84.

became a Jew. It perhaps may be true that Aquila lived under the reign of Hadrian, in the beginning of the second century.

Aquila's translation aims at a most close and minute conformity with the Hebrew text, with the consequence that he changed the meaning of a great many words, and translated Hebrew prepositions which the Greek does not admit. Jerome ridicules this exactness in the following words :

Eruditissimus linguae Hebraicae, non solum verba sed etymologias verborum quoque transferre conatus est, jure projicitur a nobis. Quis enim pro frumento et vino et oleo posset legere vel intelligere χεῖμα, ἐπωρισμὸν, στίλβοντητα, quod nos possumus dicere *fusionem*, *pomationem* et *splendentiam* ? *

Yet, it was no doubt because of this close conformity with the original that Aquila succeeded in obtaining for his work the approval of the great Rabbinical authorities, and that his version soon took the place of the Septuagint amongst the Hellenistic Jews.

Aquila's version, as a whole, perished when the Hellenistic Jews ceased to form a distinct party ; but fragments of it have come down to us through the quotations of Jerome and Eusebius and from the "Hexapla" of Origen.

Two other private translations, that of Theodotion and that of Symmachus, deserve to be mentioned. Theodotion was, according to Irenaeus, (iii. 21), a proselyte from Ephesus, while Jerome informs us that some held him to be an Ebionite. "Licet eum quidam dicunt Hebionitam, qui altero genere Judaicus est." † His translation is not much more than a correction of the Septuagint. His version of Daniel, as Jerome tells us, was used by the Christians instead of the Septuagint, and from it the Deutero-canonical parts of that book in the Vulgata have been translated. ‡

Symmachus, of whom Irenaeus makes no mention, was, according to Jerome and Eusebius, an Ebionite. His version appears to have distinguished itself from that of Aquila and Theodotion by greater purity of Greek and freer method of

* In Isai. xlix.

† "Præf. in Dan."

‡ Jerome, "Præf. in Dan."

rendering. "Non solet verborum *κακοζήλιαν*, sed intelligentiæ ordinem sequi."*

The rapid progress of the Christian religion amongst the many nations of the Roman Empire made it necessary that the Septuagint should be translated into various languages, and consequently, being itself a version, it became in its turn the parent of many others. The principal versions are the old Latin versions used in Africa and Italy, dating from the earliest ages of Christianity; a Syriac version, made in the year 617 by Paul Bishop of Tela, on the advice of Athanasius, patriarch of Alexandria; an Ethiopian version of the fourth century; and two Egyptian versions, one in the dialect of lower Egypt (Memphitic), the other in that of upper Egypt (Thebaic), both probably dating from the fourth or third century. Further, an Armenian version, probably of the fifth century; a Slavonic version of the ninth century, usually assigned to Methodius and Cyrillus; and lastly, some Arabic translations of the prophets, psalms, and books of Solomon (10-12 cent.).

In course of time the Septuagint lost, through frequent transcription, much of its original purity, for not only mechanical mistakes crept into the text through the carelessness of the "*librarii dormientes*," but bolder transcribers changed, added, or omitted, words and clauses. "Now it is manifest," says Origen, "that the difference of copies has become great, either because of the thoughtlessness of some of the scribes, or through the unpardonable boldness of others when correcting the Scriptures, or because some while correcting added or omitted what they thought right."†

For the purpose of purifying the Septuagint from these imperfections, Origen, the great Alexandrine scholar, undertook to revise it according to the Hebrew text and other Greek versions. To this work he was prompted also by a polemical object, wishing to give the Christians a text on which they could safely rely in their controversies with the Jews, lest, as he expresses it, "while arguing against the Jews, we might bring forward what does not exist in their copies."‡ This plan he carried out in his famous work the "*Hexapla*," in which

* Jerome, "Comm. in Amos" iii

† Orig. "Comm. in Matth."

‡ "Epist. ad Afric."

he placed in six parallel columns—(1) The Hebrew text in Hebrew characters; (2) The same in Greek characters; (3) The version of Aquila; (4) That of Symmachus; (5) Of the Septuagint; (6) Of Theodotion; to which in another edition he added the three unknown translations called “Quinta,” “Sexta” and “Septima.”* He then corrected the Septuagint by comparing it with the Hebrew text and with the other Greek versions, especially with that of Theodotion, marking with an asterisk (*) whatever he inserted from those sources into the text, and placing an obelus (—) wherever the Septuagint contained anything that was wanting in them.

Origen, no doubt, succeeded to a great extent in freeing the Septuagint of many of the errors which in course of time had found their way into it. His “Hexapla” is really the first critical revision of the Greek text, and as such deserves the highest praise. Yet the great object which Origen had in view, that of restoring the original Greek translation, was not obtained. Nor is this to be wondered at. The canon by which Origen was guided was not entirely trustworthy. He worked on the supposition that the original Septuagint text was that which most closely resembled the Hebrew or the translations substantially based upon it. Yet this correctness and superiority of the Hebrew text, assumed by Origen, and after him to a still greater extent by Jerome, is far from being true. It is now a well-established principle amongst all critics that our present Hebrew text, which differs but slightly from that which Jerome and Origen knew, is frequently corrupt, and that in many instances where the Hebrew text and Septuagint differ, the former must be corrected according to the latter. By taking the Hebrew text as his standard Origen had gone a step in the wrong direction. A second defect of Origen’s revision is that the system he adopted was not well suited to safeguard the purity of the text. The signs by which he indicated additions and omissions were apt to be neglected in transcriptions, so that the “Hexapla” from its very nature led to the formation of mixed texts, containing side by side the genuine Septuagint version with corrections introduced from Theodotion.

* Jerome, “Comm. in Tit.” iii.

In his preface to "Paralipomenon," Jerome speaks of two other recensions of the Septuagint, viz., that of Hesychius and Lucian.

Alexandriae et Aegyptus in Septuaginta suis Hesychium laudat auctorem. Constantinopolis usque Antiochiam, Luciani martyris exemplaria probat. Mediae inter has provinciae Palaestinos codices legunt quos ab Origine elaboratos Eusebius et Pamphilus vulgaverunt, totusque orbis hac inter et trifaria varietate compugnat.

Of Hesychius and his recension little is known. Lucian was a priest of the Church of Antioch, who suffered martyrdom at Nicomedia 312 A.D. According to a passage of Suidas he prepared his revised edition with the greatest care, diligently comparing it with the Hebrew.

About forty years ago critics discovered that Lucian's recension was not lost, but has been preserved in the four cursive MSS. 19, 82, 93, 108. To this conclusion they were led by the following course of events. They first noticed that these four codices embodied readings different not merely from those of other MSS., but even from those of the Codex Vaticanus and Sinaiticus. Dr. Ceriani next advanced the supposition that this peculiar text might contain Lucian's recension. This supposition was confirmed by Dr. Lagarde, who pointed out how several of the characteristic readings of this text coincided with citations of St. Chrysostom, who as a priest of Antioch and bishop of Constantinople would, in accordance with Jerome's statement, have used Lucian's recension.

Lucian's recension has of late contributed most considerable assistance to the work both of recovering the genuine Septuagint and of reconstructing some of the many corrupt passages in the Massoretic text. As we have already indicated, Lucian, like Origen, was guided in his work of revising by the current Hebrew text. Yet there is this difference between the two recensions that while Origen had, to use Jerome's words, the "audacity" to insert from Theodotion's version whatever was missing, Lucian appears to have directed his attention to improve the literary form of the Septuagint, by substituting for certain words synonyms which better pleased him. For instance, *παρεγέτο* for *ἦλθεν*; *ἐπολέμησε* for *παρετάζατο*; *τὸ ἀρεστὸν* for *τὸ ἀγαθόν*. In those instances where a Greek and Hebrew reading varied, he used to place beside the normal

Greek rendering a rendering more closely expressing the Hebrew variant. Hence those conflate readings so characteristic in Lucian's recension. For instance 1 Kings xiv. 40. "And he said to all Israel: Be ye on one side, and I and Jonathan will be on the other side. And the people said to Saul: Do what appeareth good in thine eyes." In this passage Lucian's recension gives besides the mistranslation of the Septuagint a correct rendering of the Hebrew. (LXX.) "And Saul said to all the men of Israel: Be ye unto bondage, and I and Jonathan will be unto bondage. And the people said to Saul: Do what appeareth good in thine eyes." (Luc.) "And Saul said to the people: Be ye on one side and I and Jonathan will be on the other side."

In addition to this, there is the remarkable fact that Lucian's recension contains renderings which are not found in other MSS. of the Septuagint, and which presuppose corresponding readings in Hebrew, greatly superior to those of our Massoretic text. Whether these readings were taken by Lucian from old and valuable MSS. of the Septuagint, of which all traces have disappeared, or whether he has translated them from a special Hebrew MS. which had in those passages preserved the genuine reading, is a question of minor importance. The great value and importance of Lucian's recension is that it points to a Hebrew source, in many places superior to the Massoretic text, and consequently that it helps critics to restore the true reading of many a corrupt place of our Hebrew bible. Two or three examples may serve to illustrate what we have said.

4 Kings xv. 10.—"And Shallum, the son of Jabesh, conspired against him and smote him *kabal-âm*, and killed him and reigned in his stead." The words *kabal-âm*, an un-Hebraic expression, are usually made to mean "before the people." Jerome rendered "publicly"; the Septuagint left the word untranslated. Lucian's recension reads ἐν Ἰεβλααμ = "in *Jeblaam*," which no doubt is the true reading, for *Jeblaam* is a city in the tribe of Manasseh. (Jos. xvii. 11; Judg. i. 27; 1 Kings ix. 27).

1 Kings xii. 11.—"And the Lord sent Jerubbaal, and Bedan, and Jephthah, and *Samuel*, and delivered you from the hand of your enemies round about." The improbability of this read-

ing—with which the Septuagint agrees—viz., that Samuel in his discourse to the people should have used his own name, disappears in Lucian's text, where instead of Samuel we have *Samson*.

1 Kings xiii. 5.—“And the Philistines assembled themselves to fight with Israel, *thirty thousand* chariots, and six thousand horsemen, and people as the sand which is on the sea-shore in multitude.” The number of chariots, given also by the Septuagint and Vulgata, is evidently an error of transcription, as it is in no proportion to the number of horsemen. Lucian's recension, in which the number is *three thousand*, is no doubt the genuine reading.

1 Kings xiii. 7.—“Now (some of) the Hebrews had passed over the Jordan to the land of Gad and Gilead, but as for Saul he was yet in Gilgal, and all the people *went after him trembling*.” The last clause of this sentence, which is substantially the same in the Septuagint and Vulgata, does not well fit in with the context. Lucian's recension reads ἀποῤυσθεν ἀὐτοῦ = “*trembled from after him*,” or “*forsook him trembling*.” This reading well agrees with the following verse: “And he waited seven days according to the set time that Samuel had fixed; but Samuel came not to Gilgal, and the people were scattered from him.”

As a proof that in the work of recovering the true Septuagint text great results have already been obtained, we have but to mention the new Cambridge edition of the Septuagint by Dr. Swete, which follows the text of the Vatican codex, having the variants of the Sinaitic codex and of four other uncial MSS. in the margin; as also Dr. Lagarde's work “*Librorum Veteris Testamenti canon*,” containing Lucian's recension. In like manner much has been done for the correction of the Hebrew text by various scholars, whose works no doubt have prepared the way for the new and revised edition, which is now gradually appearing. This revision, the work of eminent scholars in Europe and America promises, if we may judge by the books that have already appeared (Job, Samuel, and Leviticus), to become a standard work of textual criticism.

It deserves, moreover, to be noticed that correctness of text, even when approximately attained, is a great help for the understanding of the Scriptures. Before finishing, therefore,

this article, we should like to give still one example which may show that textual criticism is a work not merely of philological interest, but of great value also for the exegetical study of the bible.

In 1 Kings vi. 19, we read "And He smote of the men of Bethsamer, because they had seen the ark of Jehovah, seventy and fifty thousand men. And the people mourned, because the Lord had smitten them with a great slaughter." Now according to this reading it is difficult to explain what sin really the unhappy Bethsamites had committed, that Jehovah should have punished them so severely. This difficulty for a great part is cleared up by the following correction suggested by Josephus and the Septuagint. "Now the sons of Jechoniah did not rejoice with the men of Bethsamer when they saw the ark of Jehovah. And He smote of them seventy men. And the people mourned because Jehovah had smitten the people with a great slaughter." Here we have in the first place the incredible number seventy and fifty thousand reduced to seventy, and the reason of the punishment is stated, as the children of Jechoniah had refused to rejoice, perhaps also to share in the sacrificial feast (Conf. v. v. 13-14), with the other people of Bethsames.

C. VAN DEN BIESEN.

ART. V.—THE MEDIÆVAL SERVICE-BOOKS OF AQUITAINE.

II. AUCH.

THE Archbishop of Auch had formerly primatial jurisdiction over ten dioceses—viz., Bazas, Dax, Lescar, Oleron, St. Bertrand des Comminges, Lectoure, St. Lizier, Aire, Bayonne, and Tarbes.

The Revolution drove into exile the bishops of France, and it was impossible for many of them to return to their dioceses after the restoration of Catholic worship, as these had been obliterated from the ecclesiastical map sanctioned by the Concordat of 1801. The ancient boundaries of the various sees were completely ignored at this date, and the dioceses then reconstituted were made to correspond with the limits of the departments into which the country had been divided; but, as the number of re-established bishops was less than the number of departments, many of the new dioceses contained several of the civil divisions.

Auch lost its metropolitan rank, and the department of Gers, composed of no less than seven fragments of ancient dioceses, was annexed to the bishopric of Agen.

Only one suffragan See of the whole province of Auch survived, and this diocese (Bayonne) included the three large departments of the Landes and the Basses and Hautes Pyrénées, which with the department of Gers form, at the present day, the modern province of Auch. The metropolitan See was restored to existence by the Concordat of 1822, which divided the overgrown modern diocese of Bayonne among two other suffragan bishoprics—Aire and Tarbes—and assigned the department of Gers as the diocese of the archbishop.

Gers was carved out of the old dioceses of Auch, Toulouse, Lombez, Lectoure, Aire, Tarbes, and Condom, while other portions of the old suffragan dioceses of Auch were annexed to the metropolitan jurisdiction of Toulouse.

In 1822, there were in use in the new archdiocese no less than six different Liturgies and Breviaries, and at least two

Rituals, serving for the celebration of Mass, the recitation of the hours, and the administration of the sacraments. This state of confusion lasted till 1838, when new provincial service-books were published by the archbishop—the new Breviary in 1826, the Missal in 1836, and the Ritual in 1838—but these appeared without the authority of Rome despite all attempts to obtain such approval. These service-books remained in use throughout the archdiocese till 1857, when a strong desire was expressed at the Synod then held at Auch, to return to unity of worship and revive the use of the Roman Liturgy, retaining at the same time a Proper of Saints for the See. This supplement to the Missal and Breviary, sanctioned by Pius IX., was adopted with the Roman Use in 1858; and was revised and approved by the Congregation of Rites in 1890 for use in the whole province.

It would be out of place in this article to enter into details of the service-books imposed on their respective dioceses by the French prelates of the eighteenth century. Particulars of them as regards this province are given by the learned archivist of the Grand Seminary of Auch in his pamphlet (the forerunner of a greater work) on its Liturgy.* Our intention is rather to enter into details concerning the ancient Missals and Breviaries which have survived the general wreck of Huguenot and Revolutionary devastation.

During the wars of the sixteenth century the Huguenot leader Montgomery carried destruction and ruin throughout Gascony, which fell a special victim to his devastations. The cathedral of Tarbes with its archives was burnt, and the destruction of ecclesiastical furniture, vestments, and books was general throughout the country.† In the libraries of its cities and seminaries there is not a single Missal in MS. to be found at the present day! Of the mediæval Roman-French liturgies of its various dioceses few examples are in existence, and these are early printed copies.

When the libraries of the cathedrals and religious houses were confiscated by the State in 1790, numerous valuable books and manuscripts disappeared through the carelessness,

* "Liturgie de la Province d'Auch," par l'Abbé Cazauran, 1891.

† Martene, "Voyage Littéraire," 1717.

or cupidity, of the persons entrusted with the task of transferring them to the municipal libraries. Many of these, however, possess rich collections of mediæval service-books, but this corner of France is unhappily remarkable for its lack of such interesting treasures, and this fact points to their wanton destruction at an earlier period.

Taking into consideration the jurisdiction exercised by the Primate of Novempopulania, during the middle ages, over "Navarre beyond the mountains," it is possible that a search among the shelves of monastic and other libraries in the North of Spain might lead to the discovery of some examples of the liturgies at present missing. It is known that the Lescar Missal was printed at Pampeluna in Navarre, and it is probable that the neighbouring dioceses may have obtained their service-books from the same press. Printing-presses do not appear to have been set up in the South of France till some years after the art of printing was known and practised in other places.

There are no MS. breviaries of the diocese of Auch in existence now, but Canon d'Aignan du Sendat (ob. 1764) saw one in his day, as he transcribed from its calendar the names of the local saints whose feasts were observed.* From his notes it is evident that the old Breviary of Auch contained the offices of all the saints whose bodies reposed in the diocese.

Among the archives of the Grand Seminary at Auch are two Books of Hours in MS., one of which is beautifully illuminated on vellum (end of fourteenth century). Four Books of Hours (fifteenth century) are also preserved in the Municipal Library, which also contains a copy of the Breviary printed in 1533. This, however, was not the first printed Breviary of the archdiocese, as one reads at the end that it is a new edition, "*novo typo excussum*," and Mgr. Montillet, in an *Ordonnance* dated 1752, refers to ancient breviaries of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, of which divers copies existed at that date.

The Grand Seminary also possesses copies of two valuable incunables—the Missals of 1491 (in fo.) and of 1495 (in 4to).

From the colophon of the Auch Missal of 1491, we learn that it was printed at the expense of Hugh de Cos, a merchant

* Bib. de la Ville d'Auch, MSS. 72, 83.

at Toulouse. Liber missalis ad usū ecclesie metropolitane Ste marie auxis ductu et impensa nobil' viri Hugonis de Cossio mercatoris Tholosani. Impressus ad laudem dei ejusdemqz intemerate virginis marie felici sydere explicit anno dni m.cccc.xci. die v'o xiiij mensis aprilis. *Title*—Ad usum ecclesie auxitane missale feliciter incipit. Small folio, gothic, red rubrics, two col., contains two woodcuts of the Crucifixion and the Resurrection, initialed I.D. Hugh de Cos became in 1504 "capitoul" of Toulouse, and though the work of printing this book was under his patronage, it does not seem to have been carried out in that city. The water-mark on the paper is a crowned serpent (à l'aigrette), and is the same mark as that on the Cicero printed at Lyons in 1492, "per Joannem de Prato," so we may safely conclude that this missal came from the same press. This is the more curious as a printing-press already existed in Toulouse, where the beautiful incunable missal of that diocese was first printed in 1490, by Stephen Klebat, the unique copy of which is in the Great Seminary there, though the second edition was printed at Lyons in 1524, and the third and fourth at Paris in 1540 and 1552.

The Auch Missal of 1495 was printed at Pavia, and is a reproduction, as far as the text is concerned, of the missal of 1491. *Title*—Missale secundum ecclesiam auxitanam. *Colophon*—Papie per Franciscum Girardengum M.CCCC.XCV. The Municipal Library of Tarbes also possesses a perfect example of this edition.

The ancient sacramentary, examined by Dom Martene and Dom Durand, in the priory of St. Orens at Auch, has disappeared.*

Judging from the extracts they give, it was probably a MS. of the early part of the twelfth century—"d'environ six cens ans" is rather vague—but the prayers after the Agnus Dei point to that date, as they are not found in a sacramentary at Albi, which is of an earlier period, 950-1025. Canon d'Aignan du Sendat in the copious notes he took of the contents of an ancient sacramentary,† assigns its date to the tenth century, but whether this MS. belonged to the cathedral, or to the

* "Voyage Littéraire" (1717), ii. 28.

† Bib. de la Ville, MS. 72.

priory of St. Orens, seems uncertain. Taking into consideration the pillage and havoc wrought in the cathedral in 1171 by the Comte d'Armagnac and his son, who favoured the Albigensian heretics, and its utter destruction, together with the cloister and residences of the canons, by fire shortly afterwards, it would seem more probable that the MS. from which the Canon made extracts, was the property of the priory, and the one described by Dom Martene. He has copied the Ordinary of the Mass, which begins with the prayer of St. Ambrose, fifty-five proper prefaces, together with the pontifical benedictions and collects, said by the archbishop before the "*Pax Domini*," when celebrating Mass. The saints commemorated, according to ancient use, were chiefly martyrs. There were in it very few feasts of confessors, and these mostly confessors of Gaul—St. Gerald of Aurillac (ob. 920) being the latest in date.

After the Pavia edition of 1495 the next printed copy of the Auch Missal came from the press at Toulouse in 1555. Extracts from it are transcribed in the Canon's MS. 72. The following are of interest: On Maundy Thursday the congregation is to be called together by sound of a trumpet—*hora nona*—and Prime is said. The people are then summoned by the ringing of the great bell, and the canons proceed to the place where the bread is to be blessed. After the "*Mandatum*," a loaf and vegetables are given to each poor person whose feet have been washed. On returning to the church, the celebrant (*hebdomodarius*), vested in a cope, preceded by the cross-bearer and acolytes and accompanied by the deacon, who carries a staff about which is entwined the figure of a serpent holding in its mouth an unlighted candle, proceeds to bless the new fire.

Canon d'Aignan du Sendat adds a note that the practice observed at Auch, of elevating the host during the Pater-noster on Good Friday, is observed daily in the Church of Lyons. On Holy Saturday the deacon is directed to bless the incense, during the Exultet, just before affixing the grains to the Paschal candle. On St. Blaise's day the apple-trees are blessed; and on the feast of St. Agatha loaves of bread. In the Mass for the dead are two proses: the *Dies Iræ*, and the *De profundis exclamantes audi Christe nostras voces in celestia curia*.

From the "Livre Jaune" of the chapter of Tarbes, now among the archives of the department, we learn that the Breviary of that diocese was printed in 1519, and that the sum of 42 "livres tournois" was paid for that purpose to Arnaud Guillem de Bon, the son-in-law of Jean Garlins, printer at Toulouse.

The municipal library of Tarbes contains a mutilated early fifteenth century example in MS. of the Breviary of Tarbes (8vo, 2 cols.). The pages at the beginning and end are missing. It commences with the office of the Third Sunday in Advent, and the calendar follows the Psalter and precedes the Proper of Saints. On page 234, is a title—"Incipit officium feriale beate Marie virginis secundum usum ecclesie Tarvien."

It was inscribed in the catalogue, without any reason in 1746, "*Breviarium ad usum Capucinatorum conventus Tarbiae.*"

A breviary of the diocese of Oleron was printed at Lyons in 1525, by order of the bishop—Jacques de Foix—but no example of it is known to exist. The diocese of Bazas published its breviary in 1530. A copy is in the municipal library of Bordeaux. A copy of the breviary of Lescar, printed in 1541, is in the diocesan library at Auch. It has been reproduced, and ably edited, by the Abbé Dubarat of Pau (1891). Its use in the diocese of Lescar was abandoned in 1635. The Missal of Lescar was printed at Pampeluna in Navarre, in the year 1496. No copy of it can be found in France.

In the Great Seminary at Aire is a breviary of the diocese of Dax, fourteenth century, and another copy is in the municipal library at Toulouse. The latter is a MS. on vellum of the fourteenth century, and contains, on the folio preceding the calendar, a table of the signs of the zodiac with their qualities and complexions, and advice as to the benefit of taking medicine and being bled during each month. There are in it nine great anthems beginning with O for the latter days of Advent, in addition to two others—O Thoma and O decus—for the feast St. Thomas. On Christmas Day, after the ninth response at Matins, is sung the Gospel—*Liber generationis, &c.*, according to St. Matthew, and during the Te Deum all the bells are directed to be rung; and the Priest, vested for Mass, is to sing

the introit—*Puer natus est nobis*, with *Deus in adjutorium*, &c., and the *Gloria Patri*; after which the first Mass begins.

No examples in MS. of the Missal and Breviary of the diocese of Bayonne are known to be in existence. A printed copy of the "*Missale ad usum ecclesie Baionensis*," of the year 1543, is in the Bibliothèque Mazarine at Paris. This copy is unique. It is entered in Mr. Weale's valuable catalogue* under the heading of Bayeux in Normandy; the learned author having been misled by the curious misprint of a "c" for an "n" in the title of this edition. In the municipal library of Bayonne the only service-book in MS. is a Graduale of the fifteenth century. On folio xxiii r. is a farsed *Agnus Dei* for feasts of the Blessed Virgin:—

Agnus Dei qui tollis peccata mundi,
Gloriosa spes reorum virgo mores instrue
O Maria fons ortorum jugi stillans diflue,
Miserere nobis.

Agnus Dei, &c.
Super choros angelorum assumpta es Maria
Et a Christo collocata fuisti alta sede.
Miserere nobis.

Agnus Dei, &c.
Virgo dulcis aure pia preces nostras suscipe
Ut possimus sine fine tecum requiescere.
Dona nobis pacem.

This trope of the *Agnus Dei* also appears with neumes in the MS. Missal of Marciac, whence it has been taken and printed in modern notation, by Mons. A. Kunc, choirmaster and organist of the Cathedral, Toulouse.

The Archbishop of Auch—Philippe de Levis (1425–1453)—published some statutes regulating the services in his cathedral. Matins were to be said three or four hours after midnight according to the season of the year, followed by a Mass at sunrise said by the prebendary of the week. Some hours later the Canon-Sacristan is ordered to ring for High Mass on four or eight bells according to the solemnity of the feast of the day:—"quod dictae campanae cum bona melodia et concordia pulsantur." The high mass being ended, the celebrant, together

* "*Catalogus Missalium ritus latini*," 1886.

with the deacon and sub-deacon, are to lead into the cloister and conduct to table the "eight poor of Christ" to dine there according to custom—from the year 1500, the number of these poor people was raised to thirteen. It is laid on their conscience to see that the Cellarer does his duty to these humble guests. This office of blessing the dinner for the poor was founded in 1175, by Canon Hérard Dupin, and was called "Le Mandat."

In 1549, after previous petitions, Pope Julius III. issued a Bull authorising the secularisation of the chapter, which up to this date had lived in community under the rule of St. Augustine. In it the Pope allowed the chapter to preserve the use of the ancient liturgy of Auch, in case they did not desire to adopt the Roman rite. It was not until the year 1589, that the reformed Roman Missal and Breviary of St. Pius V. were adopted in the diocese; but the Roman *Rituale* of Pope Paul V. was received in 1616, two years after its first publication.

The Canons, according to ancient custom, chanted the office of the B.V.M. on all days which were not feasts of double rite.

A brief analysis of the Auch Missal of 1491, may be of interest.

After the title-page comes a list of all feasts which have vigils.

The calendar—each month occupying a page, and having at the foot the verse setting forth the two unlucky days in it. In the body of the calendar these days are noted by *Dies eger* in red.

On February 12, is kept the feast of Dedication.

On August 5, St. Oswald of Northumbria is commemorated, and on Dec. 8, "Conceptio sancte Marie cum octava."

On folio 1, "Incipit missale sc̄m usum ecclesie auxitane," with the first Sunday of Advent. The procession before the high mass is to go round the cloister singing the antiphon—*Missus est angelus Gabriel.*

The prose is—*Missus Gabriel de celis.*

For the *feriae* following, proper lessons from Isaias are provided for the Wednesday and Friday, and proper Gospels for those days and also for the Monday and Saturday.

II. Sunday in Advent. The processional antiphon is *Venite omnes exultemus*. Proper Gospels for Wednesday, Friday, and Saturday, and proper lessons for the two former.

III. Sunday of Advent. Processional antiphon—*Venite ascendamus*. The epistle is that of the Fourth Sunday according to the Roman rite.

IV. Sunday of Advent. A second introit in addition to *Rorate cœli* is provided, viz., *Memento nostri Domine*. The epistle is that of the Third Sunday of Roman rite; and the Graduale, *Tollite portas*.

Lessons from Zachary and Daniel, and proper Gospels for the Wednesday and Friday.

If the vigil of Christmas fall on Sunday, the morning or parochial mass is to be of the Sunday, and the high mass of the vigil. The latter has a lesson from Isaias in place of an epistle, and lessons from this prophet also take the place of the epistles on Christmas Day.

The collects of the "Mass at Dawn" and of St. Anastasia are to be said together—*sub uno fine*. Before the third mass the procession is to go first to the altar of St. Mary singing the R—*Sancta et immaculata*; and then round the cloister singing this antiphon:—

O Maria jesse virga: celi regina: maris stella: plenitudo temporis: ecce iam venit: iam olim promissum florem protulisti: ergo precamur domina: ut qui te meruimus confiteri Christi matrem sentiamus et piam: ut singulari merito hunc nobis tu facias placabilem: diesque istos tue sancte virginitatis partum dicatos bene nobis ipse propter te o benignissima disponat: quo temporalis solemnitas nos ad eternam enutriet leticiam. Alleluia.

The Prose is *Letabundus exultet fidelis chorus*.

Epiphany.—The Prose is *Epiphaniam domino canamus gloriosam*. The Sundays after Epiphany are counted from the octave.

Ash Wednesday.—The benediction of the ashes is shorter than in the Roman rite. It commences with the prayer *Deus qui non mortem, &c.* (verbal differences); then follows:—

Benedictio dei patris omnipotentis: et filii: et spiritus sancti descendat et maneat super hos cineres; and the antiphon Exaudi, &c. Ostende nobis, &c. Et salutarem, &c. Kyrie. Pater noster. Deus misereatur nobis. Peccavimus cum patribus nostris; and the collect Concede.

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Then begins the antiphon *Immutemur*, during the singing of which the priest places the ashes on his own head and on the heads of others saying:—*Memento quia cinis es et in cinerem ibis: pulvis es et in pulverem reverteris: itaque age penitentiam de omnibus peccatis tuis.*

There are no commemorations in the Masses of Lent.

First Sunday in Lent. Antiphon at the procession—*Cum sederit filius hominis.*

The introit of the Second Sunday is *Domine dilexi decorem domus tui, &c.*

The antiphon at the procession on the Fourth Sunday is *Christe pater misericordiarum*, and on Passion Sunday, *In die cum venerit Dominus.*

In the Ferial Masses of Lent are some slight differences from those in the Roman Missal.

On Palm Sunday the procession is to go round the cloisters singing the antiphon as on the Fourth Sunday, and then proceed to the appointed place singing the *Collegerunt pontifices*. On arrival, Tierce is to be said, and the Gospel (Matt. xxi., *Cum appropinquasset Jesus*) sung, facing northwards, and a sermon delivered. This ended, the bishop, or priest, facing eastwards, blesses the boughs and palms, saying the following proper prayers:—*Hec tibi Domine dies festa, &c.*, addressed to the Second Person of the Blessed Trinity and ending in a long proper Preface—*mundi redemptor qui de celis, &c.*, without the *Sanctus*. *Deus cujus filius*—a shortened form of the prayer in the Sarum Missal. *Benedictio dei omnipotentis patris et filii et spiritus sancti descendat et maneat super hos ramos. Amen.* The palms are then sprinkled with holy-water but not incensed, and immediately distributed during the singing twice of *Pueri hebreorum, &c.* Four anthems—*Turba multa, Occurrerunt turbe, Ave Rex noster, Cum appropinquaret*—are provided for the return of the procession. Being come to the door of the church, the procession stands without, while two or four boys or clerks, *super murum porte*, sing the *Gloria laus et honor, &c.*, the fourth verse of which reads—"Plebs Sancti N. cum ramis obviam venit cum prece et voto hymnos canimus ecce tibi." This verse being ended, the celebrant receiving a rod or staff from the hand of the door-keeper,*

* "De manu porterii"—note the use of this word for "ostiarii."

knocks at the door, saying, Attolite portas, &c. The boys answer, "Quis est iste rex glorie?" and the priest replies, "Dominus fortis et potens, dominus potens in prelio," and again knocks, saying, Attolite, &c., and again is answered, Quis, &c., and the priest replies as before and knocks a third time, and receives the same answer, whereupon the priest finally says, "Dominus virtutum ipse est rex glorie," and the doors are opened. The clergy and people enter singing the response, *Ingrediente—excelsis*, with *Ÿ Hodie redemptor*, &c. When the Passion is sung myrrh is placed in the thurible instead of incense. After the words "emisit spiritum," a Pater noster is said. This is likewise said after the corresponding words of the Passion during Holy Week.

Alternative lessons from the prophet Zachary and the Book of Wisdom are provided for the Monday and Tuesday following. According to the rubric—On Maundy Thursday the people are to be summoned to church by the sound of a trumpet—hora nona—and fire is struck from a flint. After None the priest, clad in his vestments, is to bless the new fire before the altar—but the proper collect for this is omitted. The prayer for the *Benedictio incensi* follows. Then the mass is solemnly celebrated. The *Gloria in excelsis* and *Credo* are to be sung only when the Chrism is consecrated. "Omnes devote communicent et sanguis domini hac die penitus sumatur." The *Communio* having been said, while the *chorus* say Vespers, the Body of Our Lord is to be reverently carried by the deacon to the place where It is to be kept—preceded by incense and lights, and six ministers supporting a spotless canopy over It. The deacon and his assistants are to sing, "Hoc corpus quod pro vobis tradetur: hic calix novi testamenti est in meo sanguine dicit dominus: hoc facite quotienscumque sumitis in meam commemorationem. The deacon, after placing the host in the receptacle prepared for it, which is never to be left without lights, is directed to return to the altar saying Vespers on his way in a low tone. The antiphon at the Magnificat is doubled if the Chrism be consecrated. Then is sung the Post Communion. When the Chrism is consecrated the deacon sings, *Ite missa est*, otherwise, *Benedicamus Domino*. "And so the Mass is ended in Vespers."

On Good Friday after None the divine office is to be

solemnly celebrated. The bishop, or priest, vested in alb and cope, accompanied by the archdeacon, the chaplain, and ministers bearing a rod, round which is the sculptured figure of a serpent, with lights approach the altar and say silently the collect, *Deus qui peccatis veteris, &c.*

"*Flectamus genua*" is not to be said at the prayer for the perfidious Jews, "*auctoritate celestini pape.*"

The prayers being ended, "*finitis prefationibus*"—two canons, bowing with reverence to the cross, hold it up covered with a veil, and sing "in the person of Christ hanging on the wood," the *Ant. Populus meus, &c.*, and the *Ÿ Quia eduxi te de terra, &c.*, which, being finished, the archbishop, with the deacon, sub-deacon, and others kneeling together (if he be absent the celebrant and deacon) before the altar say the *Agios—imas*, and the chorus humbly kneeling repeat, *Sanctus Deus, &c.* Then the two canons standing before the altar and holding the cross, again sing, *Quia eduxi te per desertum, &c.*, and the archbishop with his ministers kneeling on the second step of the altar repeat the *Agios* as above, and the chorus answer, *Sanctus Deus, &c.* The two canons, *Quid ultra debui, &c.*, and the archbishop kneeling on the third step repeats the *Agios* as before. The two holding the cross then uncover the right side, singing, *Ecce lignum crucis*, and the chorus sing the remainder—in quo salus mundi pependit: *venite adoremus*, with the *Ÿ Beati immaculati in via, &c.* Then the left side is shown in the same manner with the *Ÿ Beati qui scrutantur*. Then the whole cross is shown and the chorus finish the anthem, their voices being successively raised at each ostention. One of the canons then takes the crucifix and places it with honour and reverence in the place prepared for it; and the bishop, or celebrant, says six prayers—*Domine Jesu Christe adoro te in crucem pendentem, &c.*

Then follows the Adoration—the psalm *Miserere mei* being said in a low voice. Twelve antiphons are provided for the chorus to sing during the Adoration, after which the celebrant and the deacon carry back the cross to the altar, saying this antiphon, "*Super omnia ligna cedrorum tu sola excelsior: in qua vita mundi pependit: in qua Christus triumphavit et mors mortem superavit in eternum,*" and replace it.

The archbishop, or priest, then goes to the vestry and takes

off his cope, and puts on the chasuble (planetam), and returns to the altar with his ministers clad in albs and sandals. The candles are then lighted, and a linen cloth placed on the altar. The Host is then brought back with the same ceremonies as on the previous day—preceded by taper-bearers in albs, and by the sub-deacon with smoking thurible, while the antiphon, *Hoc corpus*, &c., is sung. The celebrant having said the *Confiteor*, the deacon spreads the corporal on the altar, and pours wine into the chalice, and places reverently on the paten the Body of the Lord. The celebrant then mingles water with the wine, and, bowing down, says silently, *In spiritu humilitatis*, &c. Rising, he says, *Oremus Preceptis*, &c. Before saying "*Fiat voluntas tua*," he takes the Body of Christ, and while he *sings* "*Sicut in celo*," he elevates It, so as to be seen by the people, and when he says "*Et in terra*," he replaces It, and continues the Lord's Prayer in the same tone. "And this method of showing the Host is observed at the present day only in the church of Auch," says the rubric.*

The *Libera nos* is said silently. Immediately after the priest has communicated, Vespers are said, and the celebrant begins the antiphon of the Magnificat, and the prayer *Respice* is said as a Post Communion, without *Dominus vobiscum*, &c.

On Holy Saturday the people are to be summoned to church before None, "*sonitu signorum*," and the bishop, or priest, vested in a cope, blesses the New Fire with the prayer, *Deus qui Moysi famulo tuo*, &c., and the incense, as on Maundy Thursday. Then "the Paschal candle is blessed by the deacon in the church," according to custom. The Exultet is entitled, "*Benedictio cerei quam Zozimus papa constituit*," and in it are some verbal differences, additions, and omissions. The grains of incense are to be affixed in the form of a star. After *apis mater eduxit*, is added, *O vere beata nox et mirabilis apis cuius nec sexum masculi violant fedus: non*

* This gives the point to the remark of Canon du Sendat, as appears from the "*Voyages Liturgiques*" of Le Brun des Marettes, p. 58. At Lyon "*le célébrant ne fait point l'élévation de l'hostie et du calice ensemble à omnis honor et gloria, mais à ces paroles—sicut in celo il l'élève, et à et in terra il l'abaisse*," &c. This is noted on behalf of the liturgical principle—"des paroles qui attirent les actions, et des actions qui accompagnent les paroles"—a very true principle, but driven to death by De Vert and his imitators. De Vert seems not to have known this instance, as he does not appear to have had access to the Auch books.

quassant: nec filii destruunt castitatem. Sit sancta concepit virgo Maria: virgo peperit et virgo permansit.

The bishop, or priest, standing at the altar in his cope, before reading the Prophecies, is to say silently the prayer, *Deus qui divitias*, of the Gregorian sacramentary. There are only four lessons and collects, with three tracts.

Then comes the tract "*Sicut cervus*" and a proper collect. The litany is said going to the font. It is very short. After *Sancta Maria*—S. Michael, All angels and archangels; SS. John Baptist, Peter, Paul, Andrew, James, All apostles and evangelists; SS. Stephen, Saturnin, Laurence, Vincent, and Antonine, All holy martyrs; SS. Marcial, Silvester, Gregory, Jerome, Exuperus, Ambrose, Augustine, Hilary and Martin, All pontiffs and confessors; SS. Benedict, Giles, Gerald, All monks and hermits; SS. Mary Magdalene, Felicitas, Perpetua, Agatha, All virgins and All saints—follow fifteen supplications, among which are:—*Ut ad festa ventura nos preparare digneris*—*Ut fontem istum benedicere* ✠ *digneris*—*Ut fontem istam benedicere et sanctificare digneris*—*Ut fontem istum benedicere et sanctificare et consecrare* ✠ *digneris*—*Fili Dei*—ending with the *Agnus Dei*. The form of benediction is short, the Paschal candle is dipped once only in the water, and the chrism only is mixed with it.

The celebrant and his ministers are then directed to put on their festal vestments, and, on their approaching the altar, the chanters sing with a loud voice, *Accendite*, and the chorus answers, *Deo Gratias*. Again, and a third time, *Accendite* is sung with *Deo Gratias*, after which *Kyrie eleyson* is begun, and the bishop or priest, having said the Confiteor, is directed to say the prayer—*Deus qui matutinam sacre resurrectionis tue*, &c., and then begin the *Gloria in excelsis*. When the celebrant is about to communicate, all the bells (*signa*) are to be solemnly rung, "*ad vespas*." The chanter in the choir with a loud voice begins the antiphon of Vespers—*Pascha nostrum Christus est qui immolatus agnus est: etenim pascha nostrum immolatus est Christus*. The *Gloria Patri* after the psalm is repeated thrice, and then the antiphon "*Pascha*," &c., thrice. After the Magnificat, Alleluia is to be sung nine times, and then its antiphon, *Vespere*, &c., repeated. The rubric goes on to say,

"By the Roman custom *Benedicamus Domino* is said, but we say, *Ite missa est*, with double Alleluia."

On Easter Day the antiphon at the procession is *Postquam resurrexit a mortuis*, &c., with the *R Christus resurgens ex mortuis*, &c. Before the last verse of the Prose, *Victima Paschali* is the verse—

Credendum est magis soli Marie veraci quam iudeorum turbi fallaci. This Prose is not said during the octave. The Sundays following are counted from the octave. On Ascension Day the prose is, *Rex omnipotens die hodierna.*

On the vigil of Pentecost four Prophecies are read, and the rest is as on Holy Saturday. At the end of the Mass a double alleluia is added to *Ite missa est.*

On the feast of Pentecost the antiphon at the procession is *Spiritus sanctus hodie*, and the Prose, *Sancti spiritus adsit nobis gratia* is not said during the octave.

On the "*Dominica prima post Penthecosten*," the lesson is from the Apocalypse, *iiii.—Vidi ostium apertum.* The gradual has three *Y* differing from the Roman. Prose—*Profitentes unitatem veneremur trinitatem pari reverentia.* The Gospel is from S. John *iii. : Erat homo ex phariseis Nichodemus—vitam eternam.*

The Prose, *Lauda Syon*, is to be sung daily during the octave of Corpus Christi. The last Sunday after Pentecost is entitled "*Sunday before the advent of the Lord.*"

Then comes the Ordinary and Canon of the Mass. The priest is to say before the altar, after the Confiteor, the prayer of S. Ambrose: *Deus qui de indignis dignos.*

The prayer before the Gospel ends with the words, "*per te Iesu Christe.*"

The prayer "*ad evangelium*": *Ave verbum divinum : reformatio virtutum : restitutio sanitatum. Qui tecum.*

"*Ad Corporale*"—*In tuo conspectu quesumus domine hec nostra munera tibi placita sint : ut nos tibi placere valeamus. Per.*

"*Ad hostiam*": *Acceptabilis sit omnipotens deus hec oblatio quam tibi offerimus pro reatibus et facinoribus nostris : et pro stabilitate ecclesie sancte catholice. Amen.*

"*Ad mixtum*": *Ex latere Christi sanguis et aqua exisse*

perhib^o et ideo pariter commiscem^o : ut misericors deus utrumque ad medelam animarum nostrarum santificare dignetur. Qui.

"Ad calicem" : Offerimus tibi, &c.

Postea sequitur benedictio. In nomine sancte trinitatis et individue unitatis descendat angelus benedictionis et consecrationis super hoc munus. Per.

The oblations of the people having been received and the sacrifice placed on the altar, the prayer, In spiritu, &c., is to be said.

After the Benediction, &c., of the Incense comes :—"Orate fratres pro me peccatore ad dominum, ut meum sacrificium vestrumque votum sit deo acceptum. Response : Suscipiat omnipotens deus sacrificium de manibus tuis et dimittat tibi omnia peccata tua.

Here follow the prefaces, as in the Roman Ordinary. Then (1) Gloria in excelsis ; (2) the Creed, with a long rubric directing when it is to be said. Among other feasts it is to be recited at nuptial masses—on days when processions are made and the bells solemnly rung, and on the feasts of all Saints mentioned in the Canon of the Mass.

(3) The prayer of S. Augustine, Summe sacerdos.

(4) The Gloria in excelsis with musical notation for—
(a) Feasts of the B. Virgin ; (b) Within Octaves ; (c) Double Feasts ; (d) Feasts of nine lessons ; (e) Feasts of Angels.

(5) The Pater noster, noted for (a) Ferie days ; (b) Festivals.

(6) Rubric relating to the Proper Prefaces.

(7) A woodcut of the Crucifixion with SS. Mary and John, and two angels collecting in chalices the blood flowing from the hands of Our Lord. Above are the Sun and Moon.

Then comes the Canon of the Mass.

After the words Papa nostro N. are the words "et rege nostro N."

After the Pax—*Fiat commixtio*—Christi accipientibus nobis *salus*.

Agnus Dei—miserere nobis—is to be said thrice.

There is no rubric for the repetition of Domine non sum dignus, &c.

The blessing is thus given : In unitate sancti spiritus benedicat nos pater et filius. Amen.

After the Canon are forty-six votive masses. Of those of Our Lady—*Rorate* for Saturdays in Advent contains the Prose Ave Maria gratia plena, Dominus tecum, Virgo serena; and *Salve Sancta Parens* for the time from the Octave of the Purification to Advent, has the farsed Gloria in excelsis—as in the Sarum Missal. Two Proses are provided, from Septuagesima to Easter: Verbum bonum et suave—Personemus illud ave; for Paschal-tide: Virginis Marie laudes intonant christiani.

The mass Pro mortalitate hominum evitanda “Our Lord Pope Clement VI. has ordered to be said.” At the end of it the introit—Puer natus est—of Christmas-day is to be read.

Then follows the Benediction of the Bridegroom’s gifts and the ring: Benedic Domine has arras, &c., and Domine D.P.O. qui in similitudinem sancti cōubii, &c. After the ring has been placed on the finger of the bride, the priest is directed to lead them by the hand into the church and to sprinkle them with holy water. The bride is placed on the left of the bridegroom before the altar till the end of the rite. From the octave of the Epiphany to Septuagesima is to be said the mass of Blessed Mary, *Vultum tuum*: from the Octave of Easter to the Ascension, the mass *Resurrexi et adhuc*: from the octave of Pentecost to Advent the mass of the Holy Trinity, with the proper prayers under one ending. Gloria in excelsis and the Credo are always to be said on account of the dignity and honour of the nuptial rite.

A proper nuptial mass then follows, the collect *Exaudi nos*, from the Gelasian sacramentary, the Epistle from 1 Corinthians vi., the Gospel from S. Matthew xix., and the *Secreta Suscipe* from the Leonian sacramentary. Before the priest says, Pax Domini, the couple are to approach the altar—“juxta cancellos,” and the ministers placing them side by side, the bride on the left, the priest “tunc velat eos” putting the veil on the shoulders of the bridegroom and on the head of the bride, saying: In nomine Patris et filii et spiritus sancti. Amen. “Et ponat jugalem super humeros eorum.” He then says over them, Salvos fac servos tuos, &c., followed by the collect Propitiare, and the prayer, Deus qui potestate (both from the Gregorian sacramentary) sung as a preface. The mass being ended he turns to them, and taking the right hand of the bridegroom and the left hand of the bride says:

In nomine, &c. Deus Abraham, deus Isaac, deus Jacob ipse sit vobiscum: et ipse vos conjungat: impleatque benedictionem suam in vobis. Amen. He then leads them by the hand out of the church, saying: In nominis, &c., ambulate in pace.

At the blessing "ante lectum," the newly married couple are to take off their shoes and lie on the bed, as is the custom, and the priest sprinkling them and the bed with holy-water says the Asperges and psalm Miserere. Then comes the antiphon Signum salutis, with *Ÿ Ostende, &c., Domine exaudi,* and the collect. "Tunc nubentes intrent lectum," and, the priest incensing them, says the psalm—*Beati omnes qui timent dominum,* with *Kyrie eleison, Pater noster, Salvum fac,* and other versicles and responses, and the prayer, *Benedicat vos omnipotens nostri oris, &c.,* and the Benediction.

In *dedicatione ecclesie*, a proper preface is provided differing somewhat from the one in the Leofric Missal of Exeter,

eternæ deus per xpm dm nrm, per quem te domine supplices deprecamur: ut hoc altare sanctis usibus preparatum: celesti dedicatione sanctifices: ut sicut melchisedech sacerdotis precipui oblationem dignanter suscepisti: ita imposita novo huic altari munera semper accepta ferre digneris: ut populus qui in hanc ecclesie domum convertit: per hec libamina celesti sanctificatione salvatur: animarum quoque suarum salutem perpetuam consequantur: et ideo.

Then follow masses: Of the Crown of Our Lord Jesus Christ at the time of His passion. Of the Five Wounds of Christ: "To the sayers or hearers of which Pope John XII. has granted cc. days of indulgence;" Prose, *Cenam cum discipulis.* Of the Feast of the Holy Winding-Sheet; Prose, *Ave Christi sudarium.* Of the Holy Tear of Christ;* Prose, *O lachryma gloriosa Christi preclarissima.† De Nomine Jesu.* "Whosoever shall celebrate devoutly, or cause to be celebrated this mass in veneration of the name of Jesus Christ, shall not die during the thirty days following without contrition, worthy satisfaction, the most holy Communion, and the oil of unction; and within thirty days of his death shall attain everlasting

* There is a treatise by Mabillon on the relic of the Tear of Christ, brought from the Holy Land by Geoffrey Martel, Count of Anjou, and preserved in the Abbey of the Holy Trinity, Vendôme.

† Printed in Weale and Misset's *Analecta Liturgica*, fas. iv. 269. This prose in the Auch books is shorter than the one therein quoted from various French Missals.

joys, and have by the said mass 3000 years of indulgence granted by our Lord Pope Boniface." The Prose is Dulce Jesus Nazarenus.

Then commences the Proper of Saints with the Mass of S. Stephen the proto-martyr. This part contains numerous proses for various feasts.

R. TWIGGE, F.S.A.

ART. VI.—BELLS AND BELL CUSTOMS.

THERE can be but little doubt that the use of church bells in England is almost coeval with the introduction of Christianity into the country; strictly speaking, the first bells that were used to summon our ancestors to worship could not be called "church bells," as they existed before any Christian churches were in being in the land. We have it on good authority that the early missionary preachers who visited Britain carried with them hand bells which were used to attract the people together, and then the Gospel of Christ was preached to them; it is said that some slight natural rise in the ground was chosen for the bell ringer to stand upon. These hand bells were not cast in moulds as was afterwards customary, but were rudely made, being formed of sheets of metal strongly riveted together and somewhat wedge-shaped; they varied in size, the smallest ones being about five inches high, the largest somewhere between nine and ten, and there were all sizes between these figures.

We do not know the exact date when bells in the modern sense of the term were first introduced into this country; Bede mentions one in the seventh century as being in use at Whitby.* Before the art of ringing was understood, the bells used to be struck by a man, by means of a hammer. Some time during the tenth century St. Dunstan is said to have cast bells for Canterbury, and also to have drawn up a series of rules for the guidance of those whose duty it was to ring them. It is recorded that, in 1050, Leofric, Bishop of Exeter, gave six bells to the cathedral; and we see from the institution of the curfew that a few years later bells were known to be in almost every village church.

It was at that time, and so continued to be, considered an act of piety to present bells to churches of higher or lower degree. In 1180 Geoffrey Plantagenet, who then held the temporalities of the see of Lincoln, gave two fine bells to the cathedral of that city.

But the mere presentation of a bell or bells was not con-

* "Ecc. His." book, iv. c. xxiii., Gidley's translation.

sidered by our forefathers to be sufficient; before they found their resting-place in the tower to which they were destined there was held a solemn dedicating service, usually known by the name of "The Baptism of the Bells."

The ceremonial was a grand one, full of quaint ritual, but the main feature of it was the washing of the bell by the Bishop with water into which salt was thrown; it was then dried by the attendants, after which the Bishop dipped his thumb into the Holy Oils used for anointing the sick, and made the sign of the cross at the top of the bell.

Various other observances of a ceremonial nature followed, and then the Bishop again anointed the bell with oil, using a proper form of baptismal words. Bells had sponsors to answer for them, often the donors, and the baptismal service was somewhat closely followed, though of course it varied in some details. Bells very often had each a distinctive name, and in some instances these names have never been forgotten by the people who have forgotten so much. These names arose, we know not how; in some cases, no doubt, they were given by their sponsors, but in others it must have been that they were given by the people of the village for some local reason that we shall never fathom, and now centuries afterwards their descendants are still using the same name, though, like "Great Tom" of Lincoln, the bell may have been recast more than once. To this day the bell at the top of the middle tower at Canterbury Cathedral is always spoken of as "Bell Harry." When bells were dedicated to saints they often got known by the name of their patron.

Cathedrals and large churches had often a second ring of bells, and this second peal was usually distinguished by some local name.

At Lincoln it was called "The Lady Bells," because they hung in the tower which was dedicated more especially to Our Lady. There is no complete list of the inscriptions to be found upon the bells of Britain; though the churches in some counties have been thoroughly examined and the facts relating to the bells recorded in goodly volumes, but very much yet remains to be done. It is much to be wished that each diocese would form a committee and have the bells thoroughly overhauled, but the expenses of bringing out really good books

upon bells are very great, owing to the necessity of the engravings and woodcuts being of a high order. The earliest inscriptions that we find are of course in Latin and undated; it is rarely a thirteenth or fourteenth century bell is found dated; there is one, however, at St. Chad's, Cloughton, Lancashire, bearing the following inscription:

ANNO DNI·M·CC· NO NO·AI.*

The V is upside down, an event not uncommonly to be found in the letters and figures upon bells. A great many bells were dedicated as was natural to Our Lady, and though many of them have only the simple inscription AVE MARIA, yet others had much longer and more ornate mottoes upon them. At Halvergate, in Norfolk, the 5th bell bears upon it INTERCEDE PIA PRO VIRGO MIRIA, and at Burton Coggles, Lincolnshire, the 3rd bell has on it SANCTA MARIA ORA PRO NOBIS; whilst we find at East Dean, Sussex, the 1st bell sets forth HAL MARI FVL OF GRAS.

Bells were naturally placed under the protection of, and dedicated to the saints, St. Gabriel being much favoured in this respect. At Springthorpe, in Lincolnshire, there is a bell dedicated to St. George bearing upon it GEORGIUS CAMPANA VOS SONAT DVLCITER BENE. To the best of my knowledge there are scarcely any old bells in England bearing inscriptions excepting in Latin or English, and when the latter tongue began to be thus used, some of the inscriptions are more amusing than edifying. At Bradford in Yorkshire, there is upon a bell

AT PROPER TIMES MY VOICE I'LL RAISE
AND SOUND TO MY SUBSCRIBERS PRAISE.

But some of the mottoes in the vulgar tongue are very beautiful, such as the one on the 4th bell at Eaton, Leicestershire:

JHESVS BE OVR SPEED 1589

And the one upon the 2nd bell at Shipton, Hampshire,

GOD BE OVR GUYD.

At Sawley, in Derbyshire, there is an inscription upon the

* "English Bells and Bell Lore," Thomas North, 1888, ch. ii. p. 10.

3rd bell, GOD SAVE HIS CHURCH 1591 ; this is a rather curious instance of what may be termed a double meaning, for there is nothing said to show whether is meant the Church as by law established or that Church for which Pole laboured, and Thomas More died ; but in all likelihood it was the latter one that was referred to ; had it been the former one most likely it would have been more clearly expressed. Political events are sometimes indicated by the words upon bells that were cast about the time of their occurrence ; the last child of Henry VIII. who sat upon the throne of England passed away from this life in 1603, and Mary Stuart's son ascended the throne ; this seems to have been commemorated at Stanford-upon-Stour, in Nottinghamshire, one of the bells there bearing upon it, GOD SAVE OUR KING 1603 ; afterward this is very commonly found upon bells. At Bury, in Sussex, occurs the earliest instance I have come across of the following ; common enough as it became in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. It is on the 2nd bell, GOD SAVE THE QUEEN 1599 AO DOMENI. H. T. We find at Elford, in Staffordshire, upon the 3rd bell, GOD SAVE OUR KING 1631 ; a curious commentary upon what was so shortly to follow : the man who gave, or the person who cast that bell could not see Edgehill, Marston Moor, and the tragedy of Whitehall, looming darkly in the years to come ; yet the handwriting on the wall was already there, and some few had obtained a glimpse of it. We find it again at Hellidon, Northamptonshire, in 1635, with one word only changed, for OUR in this case read THE.

With slight variations this inscription is used throughout the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries ; sometimes the sovereign is mentioned by name, as at Melksham, where the 3rd bell says :

GOD SAVE QUEEN ANNE. PEACE AND GOOD NEIGHBOURHOOD.
A.R. 1703.

A.R. being most likely the initials of the donor of the bell or of the incumbent of the parish, but it is more probably the former. The 1st bell at Stapleton has upon it :

FREE FROM REBELLION. GOD SAVE THE KING 1694.

Many bells bear couplets which show they that were meant to be more especially used upon certain occasions ; at Rowde, in Wiltshire, there is the following inscription on the 5th bell :

I TO THE CHURCH THE LIVING CALL,
AND TO THE GRAVE DO SUMMON ALL.

This is clearly intended to indicate that the bell was meant to be rung as the passing-bell and at funerals, and it occurs very frequently, either exactly in these words or with very slight variations.

Bells intended especially to be rung at weddings not infrequently have upon them this rhyme with various alterations; in the present case the verse I quote* is to be found upon the 5th bell at St. Helen's Church, Abingdon :

IN WEDLOCK BANDS ALL YE WHO JOIN
YOUR HANDS WITH HEARTS UNITE
SO SHALL OUR TUNEFUL TONGUES COMBINE
TO LAUD THE NUPTIAL RITE.

There is a somewhat different couplet on the 6th bell at St. Peter's, Nottingham :

THE BRIDE AND GROOM WE GRET IN HOLY WEDLOCK JOIN'D
OUR SOUND ARE EMBLEMS SWEET OF HEARTS IN LOVE COMBINED.

On bells meant to be rung in case of fire, often occur the lines found on the fire-bell at Sherborne, Dorset :

LORD QUENCH THIS FURIOUS FLAME,
ARISE, RUN, HELP, PUT OUT THE SAME.

I.W., I.C. 1652.

The language is a little vague ; it looks as though the Deity were implored to arise and run, but of course this is not what the writer meant. Bells are usually jangled or run backwards when their sound is meant to indicate that they are the means of spreading the news of a fire.

In pre-Reformation times prayers for the dead were at times to be found inculcated upon bells, and a late instance of it is to be seen at St. Peter's Church, Shaftesbury, Dorset :

WHEN YOU HEAR ME FOR TO TOLL,
THEN PRAY TO GOD TO SAVE THE SOUL.
ANNO DOMINI 1672.

Most likely the explanation of this strangely late date is to

* "An Account of Church Bells," Rev. William C. Lukes, 1857, p. 63.

be found in the fact that the old moulds and letters were used for generations, and that this was an old inscription with merely the current date put to it. In pre-Reformation times what is now usually termed the passing-bell, and rung an hour or two after death, was then really and truly a *passing-bell*, for it was rung when the soul appeared to be at the point of doffing the mortal for the immortal; but before death had actually taken place. Its object was to let people know by its solemn sound that one amongst them was *in extremis*, and to remind them that it was their duty to spare a few minutes from the cares of this world to pray that the soul so soon to be beyond earthly help, might turn towards God and His saints. Then some time after death had taken place it was again rung, and this time it was known as the Soul-bell, and was sounded to let all know that the time for earthly contrition had passed away, and to beg them to pray for the final repose of the departed.

Bells are, and were, rung on many occasions not actually connected with the services of the Church; whenever a bishop visited a parish he was (and is) welcomed by the sound of its bells. We find that in 1473 the churchwardens of St. John the Baptist, Peterborough, charged in their accounts:

1473: Itm paid for ryngyng yeuse my Lord of Lynkecoln at his Vysytacyon, ij*d*.

Peterborough being then a part of the vast See of Lincoln. It appears that upon these occasions the recompense of the ringers sometimes took another form; thus in the churchwardens' accounts at Melton Mowbray, we find an entry under 1557:

Itm pd. for a galland of ale to ye Reyngers when ye bycchype was here ij*d*.

In 1611 they had improved at Rotherham upon the Melton Mowbray manner of spelling Bishop, and it is decidedly many degrees nearer the modern fashion:

1611: Item paid for ringing at the Byshopps being at Rotherham, 13*d*.

Roman figures too had come to be used.*

* The three above quotations are taken from "English Bells and Bell Lore." Thomas North, F.S.A., ch. ix. pp. 79, 80.

[No. 15 of *Fourth Series*.]

Sermons were considered of grave importance, and the Royal Injunctions of 1547 order a bell to be knolled before the sermon.

The name of "Sermon Bell" has lingered long after the time at which the bell was rung has altered.

In some Lincolnshire churches the last bell that is rung, after the chiming has ceased, is still known as "The Sermon Bell."

Shakespeare mentions this bell in Henry IV., Act 4, sc. 2 :

Prince John :—My Lord of York, it better show'd with you,
When that your flock, assembled by the bell,
Encircled you, to hear with reverence
Your exposition on the holy text.

Bells were rung in various places at six o'clock in the morning to let workmen know when they ought to begin the labours of the day, and at the same hour in the evening to show when labour was ended. The 5th bell at St. John's, Coventry, has upon it :

I ring at six to let men know
When to and from their work to go.

There was some time ago, at Barnwell in Leicestershire, a custom which I have not been able to find in any other place, though no doubt it occurs. When an unmarried woman died it was usual to chime what was known as her "wedding peal" while the body was being carried to the church; instances of muffled peals rung upon like occasions are by no means uncommon.

The ringing of the last Angelus or Curfew bell is too common even now to require any special mention; it has never died out in some places, whilst in others it is a mere modern revival. It has become the general custom of late years to usher in Christmas Day with a peal on the church bells; in some places it has been done from time immemorial; on New Year's Eve it is now usual to ring out the dying year with a muffled peal, and then to salute his successor with a glorious chime; I have not found any trace of this New Year's peal in pre-Reformation times, but, if not customary then, it must have arisen soon afterwards, for the churchwardens' accounts of

Kirton-in-Lindsey, Lincolnshire, give the following for the year 1632 :

Item to the ringers of new yeare day morninge xijd.

It was the custom before the Reformation to ring the bells as little as possible from Shrove Tuesday until Easter Day ; and in some cases they were not rung at all, only chimed. Of course they were sounded at the time of certain of the services. Sometimes a peal was rung at midnight on Easter Eve to signify that the fast of Lent was now a thing of the past for that year ; there seems to be some reason for thinking that, in certain places, during Easter week the bells must have been rung much more than in the ordinary course of things ; the churchwardens' accounts of Ludlow contain for 1556-7 the following entry :

Item to Rushburie for makynge a breakfast to those that rynge day bell in Easter weke, xijd.

This may mean that during Easter week the bell was rung early every morning just after twelve o'clock.

In any reasonable amount space it would be quite impossible to give even a bare list of the various time, and seasons at which bells were rung, and the modifications and variations which have been made in these customs, partly intentionally, partly by the slow but perhaps mere certain process of the passing of time.

All the ancient customs have not been gathered together, though of late years very much has been done to show us what were the methods in use in early times. Very few people realise the amount of destruction that took place in regard to bells during the reigns of Henry VIII., Edward VI., and Elizabeth, and again when Puritanism was in the ascendant during the following century ; to quote only one instance—the bell-house in St. Paul's Churchyard contained four magnificent bells, said to be the largest in London.

They were called the "Jesus Bells." This bell-house had a tall spire formed of timber and covered with lead ; at the top there was an image of St. Paul. Sir Miles Partridge is reported to have won the bells at a cast of dice from Henry VIII., the story is slightly improbable, but whether it really happened

or not it is quite certain that by some means or other Sir Miles possessed himself of them; pulled down the bell-house, and broke up the bells. (During the following reign he was hanged on Tower Hill.)

Bell metal was valuable, and thus bells were included amongst the other Church property confiscated, and the bells and bell metal thus became the property of the State. Certain private persons imitated the example thus set and appropriated them to any use they thought good. At Sidbrook, in Lincolnshire, two of the bells were sold for £20, and the money so obtained was used in certain repairs needed by the church and in cleaning out the haven which was filled up with sand.*

Change ringing is, comparatively speaking, a modern invention; it was unknown in the Middle Ages. "A peal" is the whole number of changes that it is possible to ring on any given number of bells.

Many series of changes have been invented, and these are usually designated by the names of the men who composed them.

One of the earliest of these was Fabian Steadman; he was a Cambridge man, and some time about 1657 he invented a very intricate form of change ringing which is known as "Steadman's method."

One well-known series called "Grandsine Triptels" was invented by a Mr. Benjamin Anable, who died in 1755.†

People who are not accustomed to the ringing of church bells, have little idea of the great care that is needed to prevent accidents; they very often occur by men being drawn up by the ropes, a man was killed in this manner at Doncaster in 1778.

Rules for ringing and ringers are to be found in some churches, and they are at times very quaint. I quote the following from Collinson's "History of Somerset" (vol. ii. p. 336) as being little known and a fair specimen of what bell rules are like; they are in the church of North Parret.

* "Church Bells of Lincolnshire," 1882, p. 35. Thomas North, F.S.A.

† "An Account of Church Bells," 1857, p. 41. The Rev. W. C. Lukes, F.S.A.

He that in ringing takes delight,
And to this place draws near
These articles set in his sight
Must keep, if he rings here.

The first he must observe with care;
Who comes within the door,
Must, if he chance to curse or swear,
Pay Sixpence to the poor.

And whosoe'er a noise does make,
Or idle story tells,
Must Sixpence to the ringers take
For mending of the bells.

Young men that come to see and lay,
And do not ringing use,
Must Sixpence give the company,
And that shall them excuse.

He that his hat on's head does keep,
Within this sacred place
Must pay his Sixpence ere he sleep,
Or turn out with disgrace.

If anyone with spurs to's his heels
Rings here at any time,
He must for breaking articles
Pay Sixpence for his crime,

If any overthrow a bell,
As that perchance he may,
Because he minds not ringing well
He must his Sixpence pay.

Or if a noble-minded man
Comes here to ring a bell,
A tester is the sexter's fee
Who keeps the church so well.

Who ever breaks an article
Or duty does neglect
Must never meddle with a bell
The rope will him correct.

A tester was in the time of Henry VIII. equal to about twelve pence. I have not attempted to deal with church bells fully in this paper; it would not be possible to do so in a limited space. I have never even mentioned the Sanctus bell,

the Sacring bell, and the Priest's bell ; these would occupy a paper devoted solely to them ; nor have I alluded to the heraldic side of the subject nor to the varied and most beautiful lettering and ornamentation to be found upon bells. These subjects deserve especial attention devoting to them, and an exhaustive treatise might with great advantage to our knowledge be written, but it would be too long for the pages of a Review.

FLORENCE PEACOCK.

ART. VII.—THE LIGHT OF FAITH.

WE offer in the following pages a few remarks on this very important subject. We intend to select a few points which may be of some interest to the readers of the DUBLIN REVIEW, instead of attempting a complete treatise on the subject. We are profoundly convinced that the time has come to discuss the fundamental problems of Catholic Theology, not only in the schools, but in public. These momentous questions ought to find their place in the current literature of the day. There is a special need of English works, manuals, treatises and articles on various points of Catholic Theology.

One of our greatest difficulties in dealing with those who have rejected some heretical form of Christianity and become unbelievers, is to get them to perceive that though Catholic and Protestant terminology is to a great extent the same, we Catholics attach a totally different sense to the terms used. Take, for instance, original sin, justification, faith, &c.

Heretical error vitiates all the apologetical works written in favour of Christianity by Protestants, however able or eminent they may be. We have a recent and striking proof of this in Mr. Balfour's clever book: "The Foundations of Belief." We cannot accept their position, however much we may sympathise with their efforts against errors more fundamental and more pernicious than their own.

At present we rejoice at the undeniable reaction against what Protestants call "Naturalism," but what we should call "Unnaturalism," *i.e.*, materialism, atheism, and agnosticism. Human reason protests, as it has ever done, against those monstrous and grotesque forms of unbelief. The reaction does not stop here. The tide is coming in further and further.

The results of historical criticism, at first so bewildering to the minds of many persons, as generally happens when unknown, or forgotten issues are raised, are being carefully criticised and sifted. It is now becoming clearer day by day that, instead of weakening any of the essential proofs of Catholic Christianity, the ascertained conclusions of historical research actually strengthen them. Several *common* opinions

have gone, as has happened so often in the past. *Veritas Domini manet in æternum*. No Catholic truth has been touched. We think it advisable to treat, however imperfectly, a few of the fundamental points underlying the whole range of controversy with the Rationalists and Protestants, rather than to go into the *minutiae* of Biology or History. The Catholic position is simply *unique*, and it is the only position which can be defended with logical consistency against Rationalism. So much by way of introduction to the important question of the nature and scope of Faith according to Catholic teaching. As this article is not controversial, but explanatory, we shall not enter into the manifold and serious errors of various sections of Protestants concerning the nature of faith. They are well known. We shall confine ourselves, therefore, to a brief statement of the Catholic doctrine.

It may be not amiss to recall to the minds of the readers of this REVIEW the able article by Dr. St. George Mivart, in the December number, entitled "Science in Fetters." In approaching the question of faith, we must carefully guard against the phantasmal or mental pictures, which Dr. Mivart has shown to be so obstructive to the progress of true science. We must bear in mind that there is no phantasmal or imaginative picture of the Omnipresence of God. We know *intellectually* that He is everywhere, that He upholds all created beings, that He sustains continuously and positively that existence which He has given, that He co-operates immediately and effectively with every act of the human will and every act of the human intellect, that in Him every human being lives and moves and has its existence, that He is present to every human soul by His Essence, His Knowledge, and His Power. We must get rid of the phantasm by which He is sometimes represented in the imaginative faculty as relegated in the depths of space, having to descend *physically* in order to influence the wills and minds of men. His co-operation with the human intellect, for instance, does not imply the shadow of change in Him. It is effected according to *law* in the natural order, that is to say, it depends on certain conditions—*e.g.*, the normal development of the corporeal organism, &c. The supernatural co-operation is also according to *law*. Certain conditions are necessary, such as the use of reason in

many cases ; though the infusion of the three theological virtues takes place before the use of reason through sacramental baptism conferred on infants. The Divine influence is different in kind in the supernatural order, but does not require any effort or change in activity or position on the part of the Infinite Being.* The perception even of the principle of contradiction cannot take place without the direct and immediate co-operation of the First Cause. Not that God Himself is, in any sense, the *object* of immediate or intuitive perception of the intellect, just as the essence or substance of the soul itself is not the object of direct intuition on part of the intellectual faculty, though so intimately connected with it. Several philosophers and theologians have seriously erred through losing sight of this important distinction.

Let us now assume for the time being that Infinite Wisdom has vouchsafed to communicate to man a positive and supernatural Revelation. Let us assume, leaving aside comparatively unimportant details, that this Revelation embodies rational as well as superrational truths, that is to say, that while it brings superrational truths, or mysteries within the range of the human intellect, it overlaps, but does not completely cover, the sphere of reason : we find that the light of faith and the light of reason are related to each other *per modum excedentis et excessi*, as we say in the schools. The *rational* truths, as we may call them, which have been re-affirmed in positive Revelation are those, and those only, which are connected with man's eternal destiny. The other truths ascertainable by the light of reason do not fall within the sphere illumined by the light of faith.

Let us furthermore assume that this supernatural Revelation has come to us in a manner which accords with the Divine Attributes on the one hand and with human nature on the other, that is, that it has come to us accompanied by such proofs as will leave no prudent or serious doubt in any unbiassed intellect as to its Divine origin. It does not come

* It may be useful to state here that Scotus and his followers are opposed to St. Thomas and the majority of theologians concerning the proof of the Divine omnipresence drawn from the fact that God *acts* in every creature. The former deny the evidence, and even the certainty, of the proposition—*Non datur actio in distans*. All are, of course, agreed as to the Divine omnipresence.

within the scope of this article to analyse the nature and cogency of these proofs. It is sufficient for our present purpose to state that, as a general rule, they constitute moral certainty, that is, in themselves and apart from any supernatural help. It may be well to state, also, that we are not treating *directly* in this article of the *theological virtue* of faith, but of the *act* by which the human intellect assents to supernatural Revelation accompanied, as it is, by sufficient proofs of its Divine origin.

It is scarcely necessary to add that God was not bound to grant this Revelation to man. It is the outcome of His Infinite Charity. There can be, therefore, no such thing as a *a priori* proof of the fact. If God had not given it, then the Rationalistic position, inasmuch as Rationalism admits the existence of God, the spirituality and immortality of the soul,* would have been true. Reason, in that order of things, aided, to a certain extent, by Divine Providence, would have been man's sole guide in working out his everlasting *natural* destiny.

We are now brought face to face with the nature of that assent, which man is called upon to give to that Revelation which perfects and goes beyond the *natural* revelation of the Creator. The teaching of the Church is that the assent to be given, in accordance with the Divine purpose, must be *supernatural*, elicited *on account of the authority of God in revealing*, as He can neither deceive nor be deceived, it must be also *free*, because of the influence of the Will aided by grace (*essentially* supernatural, according to the common opinion, or supernatural *in the manner in which it is given* according to Duns Scotus and his followers) in commanding the assent of the intellect. Hence the assent of faith differs in its essence from the assent of the intellect in the natural order to such a truth as the existence of God.

The difference is accounted for by the *supernatural light* in the assent of faith, which is wanting in the natural assent and by the *formal motive*, which, in the assent of faith, is the authority of God as the "very truth." Whereas in the natural assent the *formal motive* is the trustworthiness of

* We are aware that Rationalism, in the concrete, is somewhat like the chameleon and ranges from materialism, atheism, pantheism, and agnosticism, up to a vague and shadowy kind of deism.

human reason. Furthermore the assent of faith is not discursive or ratiocinative, but simple and immediate, and, finally, it is elicited by the command of the will *influenced by grace*. Hence it is that the assent of faith surpasses in the perfect adhesion to Divine Truth any *natural* assent which the intellect can elicit. There are other differences of lesser moment which need not be enumerated here.

The particular point we wish to insist upon is the difference between Catholic and Protestant teaching respecting *faith and knowledge*. Protestants contrast them, as a rule, very sharply. The Catholic doctrine is that an adult, in order to give eventual supernatural assent to Revelation, must have a *certain knowledge* of the fact that God has granted a supernatural Revelation. The motives of credibility must be *known* to him in such a manner as to exclude any *reasonable* doubt. If he has only a probable opinion that God has spoken, it is not sufficient. Hence the proposition: "Assensus fidei supernaturalis et utilis ad salutem stat cum notitia solum probabili revelationis, imo cum formidine, qua quis formidet, ne non sit locutus Deus," was condemned by Innocent XI. The assent of faith presupposes *knowledge* on part of the intellect. Otherwise it would be most irrational to say that the will could command the intellect to submit to the Divine Authority in fulfilment of a *certain* obligation. Rationalists very often ask: "What right has the will to *command the intellect*?" The objection holds good against the Protestant teaching, urged against Catholic doctrine, it is simply nonsensical. The will cannot urge *anything* on the intellect unless the intellect *itself perceives* some kind of *obligation*. *Nihil volitum, quin præcognitum*. Any reasonable man will allow that the intellect may perceive an undeniable obligation, and the will may persist in refusing to carry it into effect.

Again the Rationalists object to this kind of assent, as it cannot be elicited without supernatural influence, which no one can prove to be granted, as Catholics themselves hold that it is not the object of *reflex* cognition on part of the human intellect. To this objection the reply on the Catholic side is obvious. The supernatural element is necessary in order to render the assent of the intellect *salutary, i.e., proportionate* to the Beatific Vision; it is not necessary in order to render

the assent of the intellect *possible* to the fact of Revelation. Such an assent, given solely on account of the motives of *credibility*, is according to the Schoolmen, quite possible, apart from any supernatural influence. That is all the Rationalists are entitled to. Such an assent would be, of course, a natural assent. Whether, or how far, it may exist in the concrete, is more than we can determine. If a man did assent *in this manner* exclusively to the fact of Revelation, he would not have supernatural faith.

Another point of some interest is the *formal motive* of faith, or the *precise reason why* the intellect gives its assent. All theologians are agreed that the *formal motive* of faith is not (1) the light of faith, nor (2) the *magisterium* of the Church, which is the *Rule* by which we know *what* to believe, but that it is the "Authority of God incapable of deceiving or of being deceived." There is, however, some divergence of opinion as to whether *Revelation itself* enters in the formal motive as a partial element. The great Schoolmen, Al. Hales, B. Albert the Great, St. Thomas, St. Bonaventure, and others did not admit it. At a later period Suarez, Valentia, Vasquez, Lorca and others held that Revelation is an essential element of the formal motive. They were combated chiefly by the Scotists, such as Smising, Dicastillo, Frassen, Herincx and others, whom we unhesitatingly follow. Some practical consequences flow from this opinion which became in the course of time almost exclusively Scotistic, as we shall see in the sequel. The older Scholastics distinguished between "*veritas Dei in essendo*," "*veritas in cognoscendo*," and "*veritas in loquendo*." The second was assigned as the *formal motive* of the assent of faith. We now come to a very important question, as to which there has been, in our opinion, a considerable amount of misunderstanding concerning the teaching of the Schoolmen, especially of St. Thomas and John Duns Scotus. It is whether the assent of faith is compatible with natural intellectual assent given to its *formal motive* on account of a scientific demonstration. If we are to hold that they are incompatible, we find ourselves face to face with insoluble difficulties, and it is for this reason chiefly that many theologians have got, it seems to us, into hopeless confusion on the subject. Let us turn for light to the great Schoolmen. In matters not requiring

inductive research they are simply past masters. That Alexander Hales and B. Albert the Great held the compatibility of scientific knowledge of God's existence and veracity is undeniable. So did Richard Middleton, Durandus, and the celebrated Dominican, Peter of Tarant, who says: "*Scientia viæ de divinis propter admixtam obscuritatem ex improportione intellectus nostri ad objectum et frequentem obnubilationem phantasmatum non excludit fidem.*"

St. Bonaventure is equally, if not more emphatic. In L. III. Sent. Dist. 24. a. 2. q. 3, he lays down the proposition: "*Scientia apertæ comprehensionis non compatitur secum fidem, sed scientia quæ est a manuactione ratiocinationis simul stat cum fide, ita ut fides sit principale et scientia subserviens.*" By "*scientia apertæ comprehensionis*" St. Bonaventure means the knowledge of God in the Beatific Vision. This knowledge he holds to be incompatible with faith. He does not distinguish expressly between science *a priori* and science *a posteriori*. He upholds expressly *only* the compatibility between faith and the science *a posteriori*.* The distinction is not unimportant,

* It may be as well to give the passage in full from St. Bonaventure, as many may not have his works at hand: "Respondeo: Ad prædictorum intelligentiam est notandum, quod duplex est cognitio, scilicet *apertæ comprehensionis* et *manuactione ratiocinationis*. Si loquamur de *scientia apertæ comprehensionis*, quo modo cognoscitur Deus in patria; sic non compatitur secum fidem, ut simul idem sit scitum et creditum, pro eo quod talis cognitio simpliciter excludit ænigma; et hoc melius apparebit infra, cum agatur de evacuatione virtutum, quare videlicet et qualiter fidei actus per visionem excludatur et evacuetur. Et de hac scientia Sanctorum auctoritates dicunt, et communis opinio magistrorum tenet, hoc esse verum, quod idem non potest esse simul scitum et creditum. Si autem loquamur de scientia, quæ est a manuactione ratiocinationis, sic voluerunt quidam dicere, adhuc esse verum, quod non potest simul stare cum fide, quia per talem scientiam assentit intellectus ipsi rei cognitæ propter ipsam rationem principaliter, assentit etiam necessario, assentit etiam sicut rei, quæ est infra se; cujus contrarium reperitur in fide, quæ assentit primæ Veritati propter se et voluntarie, elevando rationem super se. Et ideo dixerunt, habitum fidei et scientiæ mutuo sese excludere, secundum quod caritas illum amorem excludit, quo quis amat Deum propter temporalia principaliter. Aliorum vero positio est, quod de uno et eodem simul potest haberi scientia manuactione ratiocinationis cum habitu fidei, juxta quod dicit Augustinus decimo quarto de Trinitate, exponens illud Apostoli: *Alii datur per Spiritum sermo sapientiæ, alii sermo scientiæ*: 'Huic scientiæ tribuo illud quo fides saluberrima, quæ ad veram beatitudinem ducit, gignitur, nutritur, defenditur, roboratur; quæ scientia non pollent plurimi fideles, licet habeant fidem.' Et Richardus de sancto Victore dicit, quod 'ad ea quæ fidei sunt, non tantum possunt haberi rationes probabiles, sed etiam necessariae, licet eas interdum contingat nos latere.' Unde aliquis credens, Deum esse unum, creatorem omnium, si ex rationibus necessariis incipiat ipsum idem nosse, non propter hoc desinit fidem habere; vel si etiam prius nosset, fides superveniens talem cognitionem non expelleret, sicut per experientiam patet."

especially in view of the teaching of Scotus, as we shall presently see.

Duns Scotus is frequently quoted as opposed to St. Bonaventure on this point. In point of fact, however, in L. III. Sent. Dist. 24, Quæst. unica, Scotus is treating two totally different points. He proves that faith and *scientia a priori* (and he actually mentions *mathematical science*) are incompatible. This is the explanation given by the Scotists almost to a man. Again, towards the end of this question where he is proving that faith does not involve, or lead to, science strictly so-called, he says: "Et quamvis aliquis posset forte demonstrare, Deum non posse falli nec fallere, quia potest probari, naturaliter, sicut potest probari Deum esse, non tamen protest sciri, nec probari ab aliquo quod Deus dederit nobis lumen supernaturale," &c. Scotus falls back in order to prove his point, not on the incompatibility of faith with the proof of the Divine veracity, but on the impossibility of proving *scientifically* that God has granted us *supernatural light*. That must always remain the object of belief, and belief alone, even if we take, not only the concrete case, but the general principle that supernatural light is granted. There are many other passages justifying the interpretation commonly given by the Scotists of their master's teaching.

St. Thomas is still more extensively quoted than Duns Scotus as holding strongly and unmistakably the incompatibility between the assent of faith and the natural assent given to the demonstration of the existence of God. It is unnecessary to give the passages quoted in support of this interpretation of the Angelic Doctor's teaching. Are they not found in many theological manuals? We do not admit that this is the true interpretation of his teaching. We are profoundly convinced that the distinction which we applied to the teaching of Scotus is also applicable to that of St. Thomas in respect of a great many passages, and, in regard to other passages, we believe that he is to be explained as denying the compatibility of faith and assent given to the demonstration of God's existence "*secundum idem*." St. Thomas meant that the assent of faith is given in a different manner, from a different motive (the natural assent resting on the veracity of *reason*, the superna-

tural on the veracity of *God*), and with a different co-operation on the part of God. We say this in order to clear St. Thomas of the charge of contradicting himself. Let us now see whether St. Thomas supports our view.

In the II. II. of the Summa Theol. Quæst. II. a. X., replying to an objection, he says :

Ad primum ergo dicendum, quod Gregorius loquitur de casu illo quando homo non habet voluntatem credendi ea quæ sunt fidei, *nisi propter rationem inductam* [the italics are ours]; quando autem homo habet voluntatem credendi ea que sunt fidei ex sola auctoritate Divina, etiamsi habeat rationem demonstrativam ad aliquid eorum, puta ad hoc quod est Deum esse, non propter hoc tollitur vel diminuitur meritum fidei.

But there is a more decisive passage still in the II. II. S. T. quæst. V. a I., where he discusses the questions as to whether the Angels and Adam had faith in the state of probation. He says : (in corp.)

Respondeo dicendum quod *quidam* dicunt quod in Angelis ante confirmationem et lapsum et in homine ante peccatum non fuit fides propter manifestam contemplationem quæ tunc erat de rebus divinis; sed cum fides sit *argumentum non apparentium*, sec. Apost. (Heb. 11), et per fidem creduntur ea quæ non videntur, ut Aug. dicit . . . illa sola manifestatio excludit fidei rationem, per quam redditur apparens vel visum *id de quo principaliter est fides* [the italics are ours] principale autem objectum fidei est veritas prima, cujus visio beatos facit et fidei succedit; cum ergo angelus ante confirmationem et homo ante peccatum non habuerit illam beatitudinem, qua Deus per essentiam videtur, manifestum est quod non habuit sic manifestam cognitionem, quod excluderetur ratio fidei. Unde quod non habuerit fidem, hoc esse non potuit, nisi quia penitus ei esset ignotum *id de quo est fides*; et si homo aut angelus fuerunt creati in puris naturalibus, ut *quidam* dicunt, forte posset teneri, quod fides non fuerit in angelo ante confirmationem, nec in homine ante peccatum, cognitio enim fidei est supra naturalem cognitionem de Deo non solum hominis sed etiam angeli, &c.

Here then we have St. Thomas teaching that the only manifestation of God which is incompatible with faith is that which is effected by the Light of Glory. Faith is compatible with the highest knowledge that even an Angel can have of God in the natural order. The teaching of the Angelic Doctor is even more emphatic than that of the Seraphic.

Thus we have all the great schoolmen brought into line on

this important question. There is no difficulty as to the man who has proven to demonstration the existence and veracity of God in respect of his giving a supernatural assent to the same truths helped by the light of faith and having his will aided by grace. There is no difficulty concerning any theological student who succeeds in demonstrating to himself and to others the things of faith which are demonstrable.

We see the necessity of faith *pro sapientibus et insipientibus*. In the case of the former it renders their knowledge of God more perfect and supernatural; in the case of the latter it supplies the place of demonstration and goes beyond it. How wonderful are the ways of God! The poor and lowly have not to wait until they can master the demonstration of God's existence: "Non in dialecticâ complacuit Deo saluum facere populum suum." On the other hand, faith is compatible with the greatest intellectual ability the world has ever seen.

As to the compatibility of faith with *a priori* science, we incline to the view of Duns Scotus. The question is not very important.

There is also a question treated in the schools as to the compatibility of faith not only with evidence of its formal motive, but with evidence of the *fact* of Revelation at the same time. Many of the schoolmen, especially the Scotists, hold that there is no incompatibility (see Smising, Dicastillo, Herinx and others). The famous Irish Scotist, John Punch, O.S.F., sides with de Lugo against the majority of his own school. On this and on many other questions we venture to differ from Fr. John Punch. The question, as far as *we* are concerned, is purely speculative. We bring it forward to show how carefully the Schoolmen analysed these intricate questions. St. Bonaventure agrees with Scotus and his followers that even the *obscurity* of the material object of faith does not belong to its *formal motive* as an *essential* part, but is its *concomitant condition*. It is certainly a condition that will not be taken from us, as the *fact* of Revelation is not self-evident, and as Revelation contains, *de facto*, a number of truths, which, though evidently credible, are not intrinsically evident.

The next point to be considered is that the *formal motive* of the assent of faith is the same for all the revealed truths. Hence formal heretics, by deliberately rejecting even one truth,

indubitably destroy all faith of a supernatural character. It is different with material heretics. Let us suppose that they are validly baptised in infancy. If so, they receive faith, hope, and charity—the infused theological virtues. When they come to the use of reason, the light of faith, as long as they are in invincible ignorance, co-operates with their assent to the whatever revealed *truths* they admit. It never does, or can, co-operate with the assent they give to *false* doctrine. It is true that they do not acknowledge the divine authority of the Church, but the divine authority of the Church is only the *Rule* of faith and not its *formal motive*. When they become Catholics it is not correct to say that they receive the faith for the first time. They accept the *Rule* of faith, and receive an extension of the material object. Their faith is also, as a rule, rendered more perfect and intense.

Let us now take the case of the unbaptised—pagans of every description. We know that God seriously wishes the salvation of all men, and consequently that He offers to all the means of salvation. But “without faith, it is impossible to please God.” How can they have faith? We must bear in mind that they can, absolutely speaking, arrive at the knowledge of God by the intrinsic power of reason, given the normal physiological conditions, by exterior aids and internal inspiration. We must not lose sight of the fact that they live and move and have their being in God, that He co-operates immediately and effectively with their every intellectual act. In the supposition that they have no knowledge of *external* revelation, it is not impossible for them to have faith, as it does not belong to the *formal motive* of faith. This St. Thomas undeniably holds in regard to the faith of our first parents: “Ad tertium dicendum quod in statu primæ conditionis non erat auditus ab homine exterius loquente, sed a Deo interius inspirante.” He holds the same doctrine in common with nearly all the Schoolmen in regard to those who have no knowledge of Christian revelation. They are certainly bound to give supernatural assent explicitly to two truths, viz., that God is and that He is a rewarder to them that seek Him. The proposition: “Nonnisi Fides unius Dei necessaria videtur necessitate medii, non autem explicita Remuneratoris”

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was condemned by Innocent XI., as also the following: "Fides late dicta, ex testimonio creaturarum similive motivo, ad justificationem sufficit." They must give *supernatural* assent to those two truths at least; then comes the baptism of desire if they faithfully co-operate with grace, and consequently justification.

Another question of some interest is that concerning the necessity of belief, explicit or implicit, in the Blessed Trinity and in the Incarnation. St. Alphonso, writing on the question, says that the opinion of those who hold the necessity for all of explicit belief in the Blessed Trinity and the Incarnation from the time of the propagation of the Gospel is *communior et videtur probabilior*. This opinion does not commend itself to us. The great Schoolmen did not distinguish with anything like precision between *de necessitate medii* and *de necessitate praecepti*, nor did they distinguish between the pagans who lived during the Old Covenant and those who live during the New. St. Thomas and St. Bonaventure are in perfect accord on this question. When they speak of the *necessity* of *explicit* belief in the Incarnation, the natural interpretation is that they are speaking of *Christians*. St. Thomas says, II. II. q. 2, a. 7, ad 3: "Si qui tamen salvati fuerunt quibus revelatio non fuit facta, non fuerunt salvati absque fide mediatoris, quia etsi non habuerunt fidem explicitam, habuerunt tamen fidem implicitam in divina providentia credentes Deum esse liberatorem hominum secundum modos sibi placitos, &c." St. Bonaventure (in L. III. Sent. Dist. 25 a. 1, q. 2) says: "Nullus post lapsum salvari potuit absque mediatoris fide saltem implicita." The Seraphic Doctor makes no distinction between those who lived before and after the promulgation of the Gospel. There is, however, a very strange divergence of opinion between himself and the Angelic Doctor as to the belief in the Incarnation *before* the fall. St. Bonaventure follows *some* of the ancient Scholastics in refusing to admit an explicit belief in the Incarnation before the fall, whereas St. Thomas, following Alexander Hales and B. Albert the Great, holds that our first parents had explicit belief in it before they fell. Here are St. Thomas's own words, II. II. Quæst. II. a. T. in corp.:

Nam ante statum peccati homo habuit explicitam fidem in Christi Incarnationem secundum quod ordinabatur ad consummationem gloriæ non autem secundum quod ordinabatur ad liberationem a peccato per passionem et resurrectionem, quia homo non fuit præsciens peccati futuri. Videtur autem Incarnationis Christi præsciens fuisse per hoc quod dixit: *Propter hoc relinquet homo patrem et matrem et adhærebit uxori suæ*, ut habetur, Gen. 2, et hoc Apost. ad Eph. 5 dicit: *Sacramentum magnum esse in Christo et in Ecclesia*, quod quidem Sacramentum non est credibile primum hominem ignorasse.

This accords with the doctrine put forward subsequently with so much *éclat* by Duns Scotus. What renders this more extraordinary still is the fact that in his Comm. on the Sentences (L. III. Dist. 25. Quæst. 2, a. 2, quæstunc. 2) he follows St. Bonaventure, and in III. part of his Summa T. he seems to revert to his former opinion, though he writes on the question with great moderation. Of course the III. part of the Summa has not the same authority, for a well-known reason, as the rest. This is what he says (III. p. q. 1, a. 3 in corp.):

Respondeo dicendum quod aliqui circa hoc *diversimode* opinantur: *quidam* enim dicunt, quod etiamsi homo non peccasset, Dei Filius incarnatus fuisset: *alii* vero contrarium, quorum assertioni magis assentiendum videtur; ea enim quæ ex sola Dei voluntate proveniunt supra omne debitum creaturæ, nobis innotescere non possunt, nisi quatenus in sacra scriptura traduntur, per quam Divina voluntas nobis innotescit, unde cum in sacra scriptura ubique incarnationis ratio ex peccato primi hominis assignetur, convenientius dicitur, incarnationis opus ordinatum esse a Deo in remedium contra peccatum; ita quod peccato non existente, incarnatio non fuisset: quamvis potentia Dei ad hoc non limitetur: *potuisset* enim, etiam peccato non existente, Deus incarnari.

The only explanation that suggests itself to us of this evident vacillation on the part of St. Thomas is the undeniable fact that in writing the II. part of the Summa T. he was very much under the influence of the writings of the great English Schoolman, Alexander Hales. We do not consider that an *explicit* belief in a *hypothetical* Incarnation, without a knowledge of the condition, could be attributed to our first parents by St. Thomas. The only explanation is that of Scotus and his followers, taken from Alexander Hales and B. Albert the Great, that the decree concerning the Incarnation existed before, and independently of, the Fall, and was made known to Adam. That seems to us to have been in the mind of St.

Thomas when he wrote II. II. q. 2, a. T. However, we gladly leave the question to the judgment of more competent theologians than ourselves.

Reverting to the question of the salvation of pagans, we wish to recall the proposition (5) condemned by Alex. VIII.: "Pagani, Judæi, heretici, alique hujus generis nullum omnino accipiunt a Jesu Christo influxum; adeoque hinc recte inferes, in illis esse voluntatem nudam et inermem sine omni gratia sufficienti." Some people look upon the visible extent of Christianity as the limit of the influence of Christ. The truth is that there is not one responsible human being who is not influenced by the Incarnate God. We do not mean, of course, to the same degree as those who belong to the true Church, and we must never lose sight of the immensely greater graces which we enjoy, nor of the *necessity* laid upon us to make known to all the way of salvation in all its plenitude and richness. Hence the objection drawn from the restricted sphere of Christianity falls to the ground. Finally, the case of pagans who have no actual knowledge of God, if any such there be, need not disturb us. A theologian for whom we have the greatest possible respect—Cardinal Sfrondati—has treated the whole question in a most satisfactory manner in his noble work, "Nodus Predestinationis," so fiercely attacked by Jansenistic intriguers at that time. Among the forty propositions extracted for censure we find the following (xxxviii.):

Demus Brasilie populos Deum ita (invincibiliter) ignorasse, id quoque magni beneficii et gratie pars fuit: & xxxix. "Cum (Barbari) hac (Dei) ignorantia impeccabiles redderentur, alioquin certissime peccaturi, si agnoscerent, sequitur, hoc ipsum beneficium esse. Ergo sive Barbari agnoscant (Deum), sicque invocare illum, et salutem consequi possint, sive penitus ignorent, et ideo nec possint peccare, semper verum erit, ne illis quidem misericordiam deesse.

A very able defence of Sfrondati's propositions and a scathing refutation of the censures of the Jansenistic opponents of the learned and pious Cardinal will be found in the "Disputatio Notarum Quadraginta" sent to Pope Innocent XII. Those propositions were never censured by ecclesiastical authority.

We have now treated the few points we intended to put before the readers of the DUBLIN REVIEW. We tried to get at the teaching of the great Schoolmen in order to give some idea of the treasures contained in those dusty infolios. We hope and pray that some one may arise who will bring forth those treasures in the widespread English language, correcting and enriching them with the results of inductive science and historical research which have been so marvellously accumulated since their time—*nova et vetera*.

FR. DAVID, O.S.F.

ART. VIII.—MARY TUDOR AND THE REFORMERS.

MARY TUDOR is the *bête noir* of popular Protestant history. No language has been found too strong to depict her as a monster of cruelty and vindictiveness. Even Mr. Gladstone, who ought to have known better, in a moment of irritation, hurled at her the epithet of "Bloody Mary." She is the one dark blot in that brilliant page of the glorious Reformation history which records the lives of "Bluff King Hal," the young saint and Solomon, Edward VI., and that "bright occidental star," the "Good Queen Bess." Such is history when written by partisans. The history of those times is fast passing out of such hands. State papers from various quarters are being published, and their evidence shows the life and personal character of Mary Tudor in a juster and truer light. It tends to clear away the obloquy and dark shades in which writers like the unvarnished Fox have painted the picture of her life, and which they have left as a legacy to succeeding ages. It is time that some attempt should be made to do justice to the memory of this much-injured queen, and to show from history that no woman ever led a sadder life, and one more deserving of our pity and admiration, than Mary Tudor, under the most trying circumstances.

Some of the more fair-minded Protestant historians do not hesitate to confess that the traditional and popular belief about Queen Mary will not stand the light of historical research. Mr. Tytler, for instance, who has published the original letters, of her reign remarks :

There are some points in English History, or rather in English feeling upon English History, which have become part of the natural belief—they may have been hastily or superficially assumed—they may be proved by as good evidence as the case admits of to be erroneous ; but they are fondly clung to, screwed and dovetailed into the mind of the people, and to attack them is a historical heresy. It is with these musings that I approach her who is so generally execrated as the "Bloody Mary." The idea of exciting a feeling in her favour will appear a chimerical, perhaps a blameable one ; yet, having examined the point with some care, let me

say for myself that I believe her to have been naturally rather an amiable person. Indeed, until she was thirty-nine, the time of her marriage with Philip, nothing can be said against her, unless we agree to detest her because she remained faithful to the Roman Catholic Church; nor can there, I think, be any doubt that she has been treated by Fox, Strype, Carte, and other Protestant writers, with injustice. The few unpublished letters of hers which I have met with are simple, unaffected, and kind-hearted; forming in this respect a striking contrast to those of Elizabeth, which are often inflated, obscure and pedantic. The distinguishing epithets by which the two sisters are commonly known, the "Bloody Mary" and the "Good Queen Bess," have evidently a reference to their times; yet we constantly employ them individually.*

Mary Tudor was born at the royal palace at Greenwich, February 18, 1515. The Countess of Salisbury (Margaret Plantagenet) was chosen as her governess, and Catharine, wife of Leonard Pole, as her nurse. The nursery establishment was fixed at Ditton Park in Buckingham, on a scale of great magnificence. Lady Bryan, wife of Sir Thomas Bryan, was lady mistress, and the Countess of Salisbury, Mary's most attached and devoted friend, was State governess. It is not the object of this paper to detail the history of her early life. Those who wish to read it will find it given with much detail and accuracy by her Protestant biographer, Miss Strickland. Her education was watched over with great care by her accomplished and loving mother, under the guidance of the learned Spaniard, Ludovico Vives.† The young princess was directed to read the Gospels, morning and evening, the Acts of the Apostles, the Epistles, and selections from the Old and New Testament; the works of Cyprian, Jerome, Augustine and Ambrose; likewise Plato, Cicero, Seneca's Maxims, Plutarch, the Paraphrase of Erasmus and the Utopia of Sir Thomas More, also the Pharsalia of Lucan, the tragedies of Seneca, and selections from Horace. She has to learn the rules for Latin and Greek pronunciation, and is frequently to translate English into Latin, and to converse in Latin with her tutor. By way of recreation she was to read stories, such as the history of Joseph and his brethren, of Papyrus in Aulus Gellius and Lucretia, the well-known tale of Griselda being about the only work of fiction tolerated. Here we have a syllabus of work

* "The Reigns of Edward VI. and Mary," vol. i. p. 49.

† Madden's "Privy Purse Expenses of Princess Mary," p. cxxi.

that would satisfy the most advanced of our modern emancipated women. The result was that Mary became one of the most learned and accomplished women of her age, but it may be a question whether the severe strain of such a course of study upon one so young did not lay the foundation for that melancholy and earnest temperament and broken health which had so much to do with the character of her after reign.

With the question of the divorce, Mary's early troubles began. She was separated from her mother, whom she was never allowed to see again, not even to receive a last blessing on her death-bed. She was deprived of the society of her tried friend the Countess of Salisbury, and was made to occupy the position of a menial in the household of Anne Boleyn, who treated her with the harshness of the proverbial stepmother, so much so that when the unhappy queen came to die, her conscience was sorely troubled on this point, for the night before her execution she knelt down before Lady Kingsdon, and begged of her to go to Hunsden, where Mary resided, and on her knees and in her name to beg pardon for the indignities she had inflicted upon the defenceless girl. On the accession of Edward VI., her troubles which had ceased for a time began again. The sour and rabid fanatics who surrounded the throne determined to make her conform to the new religion. One of her chaplains, Mallet, was imprisoned. The comptroller of her household, Rochester, was also imprisoned. In fact, nothing short of a threat on the part of the Emperor Charles V., that he would declare war upon England if his royal cousin was further molested on account of her religion, secured Mary from further persecution. Bitter must have been her recollections of the suffering she had to endure at the hands of the Reformers, whose conduct gave them small claim upon her consideration and clemency when her turn came to exercise the supreme power of the State. Before Edward's death Mary had become a chronic invalid, suffering periodically from long and protracted attacks of hysteria and other female complaints, the result of broken health consequent upon the mental and bodily suffering of her early life. The Reformers took advantage of this to give out as a reason for depriving Mary of the succession that she was "a poor miserable invalid, fit for nothing but to be shut up in her

palace." They proceeded to take steps to give effect to their opposition by persuading Edward VI. to disinherit both his sisters in favour of Lady Jane Grey, a professed Protestant. This was an act of high treason by the statute law of England. Edward VI. expired at Greenwich, July 6, 1553. A delusive message was sent to Mary summoning her to her brother's death-bed with the view of seizing her person and committing her to the Tower. She was warned probably by Lord Arundel or Sir Nicholas Throckmorton and fled to Framlingham Castle, where she raised the royal standard. She was joined by Sir Henry Jerningham, Sir Henry Bedingfeld, and other good old Catholic families, and soon found herself at the head of a large army of 30,000 men. Mary had written to the Council commanding them, as they hoped for favour, to proclaim her as queen. She was answered by an insolent message declaring her illegitimate. The attempted opposition failed. Mary's enemies were at her feet, steeped to the lips in high treason, and had she chosen to inflict summary punishment upon them, the whole country was ready to say she had done quite right. Northumberland, Suffolk, and other supporters of Lady Jane Grey had been taken with arms in their hands and sent to the Tower. Crammer's name was the first on the list of councillors who had proclaimed Mary's deposition. He had aggravated his guilt by publishing an intemperate proclamation tending to disturb public order. He was sent for by Mary's Council who, "after a long and serious debate, committed him to the Tower, as well for the treason committed by him against the queen's highness, as for aggravating the same his offence by spreading abroad seditious bills and moving tumults to the disquietness of the present State." Latimer was also sent to the Tower "for his seditious demeanour."* Ridley had publicly preached against the queen's succession at St. Paul's Cross by order of Edward's Council and was sent to the Tower; also Sandys, who had done the same thing at Cambridge. Now, what was Mary to do with these men? Had she imitated the example of the two previous reigns, or followed the advice of her Council, she would have made short work of them. Mary was obliged to form her Council partly

* Journal of Council, in *Archæol.* xviii. 175; Haynes, i. 183, 184.

from the late Council, who had gone over to her side, and partly from the country gentlemen who had supported her.

As the leading members of Mary's Council had nearly all of them one time or other sided against her, she felt she could not trust them till she had had further experience of them. She therefore applied for advice to her relation the Emperor Charles V. as to what she was to do with her State prisoners. He replied that rebellion must not go unpunished, but that justice must be tempered with mercy. Twenty-seven names of the leading rebels were presented to her for trial. With her own hand she struck out the names of sixteen prisoners, amongst them Bishops Ridley of London, and Thirlby of Ely. Of the remainder only three, Northumberland, Sir Thomas Palmer, and Sir John Gates, were put to death, an act of clemency unheard of in those days, and which her advisers blamed as a political blunder. Nothing could induce her to listen to the demand of the imperial ambassador for the trial of Lady Jane Grey. She replied to them (Renard's "Despatches," edited by Giffet, xi.) that "she could not find it in her heart or conscience to put her unfortunate kinswoman to death, who had not been an accomplice of Northumberland, but merely an unresisting instrument in his hands. . . . As for the danger existing from her pretensions, it was only imaginary, and every requisite precaution should be taken before she was set at liberty."

One of Mary's first acts was to issue two proclamations, which drew upon her the blessings of the whole country. One was to restore the depreciated coinage, which had been so debased in the previous reigns that a shilling was worth only about $2\frac{1}{2}d.$ The other, to remit a subsidy of 4s. in the pound on land and 2s. 8d. on goods, which had been granted in the last reign. She also liberated the Duke of Norfolk and other State prisoners, and restored their estates which had been unjustly forfeited to the Crown in the previous reigns, and which were worth some £60,000 a year. Considering the bankrupt state of the royal exchequer, these were acts of unprecedented generosity. Mary also published a proclamation (given by Wilkins, "Con." iv. 84) regarding religion, in which she declared that she had "no intention to compel any one to embrace her religion, till further order was taken by common consent ;

and, therefore, she strictly forbade all persons to excite sedition amongst the people, or to foment discussions by using the opprobrious terms of heretic or papist." On October 1st Mary was crowned, and four days afterwards opened her first Parliament. Its first act was to restore the criminal law and property law to the state in which they stood in the 25th Edward III. At one stroke all the hideous legislation by which Henry VIII. was able to gibbet in the latter years of his reign innumerable victims—Holinshed says (*Chron.* vol. i. p. 186) 72,000 persons, an estimate which must be taken as a popular one—was swept away and such scenes rendered impossible again in England. The laws against the queen's legitimacy were also repealed in the second Session; all Cranmer's ecclesiastical legislation was swept away and religion restored as it was in the last year of Henry VIII.'s reign. A Bill of Attainder was passed against Cranmer, Guildford Dudley, Lady Jane Grey, Sir Ambrose Dudley and others. They were tried at Guildhall and, having pleaded guilty, sentenced to death by Chief Justice Morgan, but it was well understood about the Court that the queen did not intend to have the sentence carried out, but to let their danger stand as a pledge for the good behaviour of the other Reformers.

The queen's marriage next engaged public attention. Friar Peyto, who had survived Cromwell's threat of being put into a sack and thrown in the Thames, advised her "Do not marry or you will be the slave of a young husband. Besides, at your age the chance of bringing heirs to the Crown is doubtful, and, moreover, will be dangerous to your life." All parties were opposed to a marriage with a foreigner. Mary, however, had the strong will of her race, and decided to give her hand to Philip of Spain. The announcement of the queen's intention, owing to the intrigues of Noailles, the French Ambassador, the bane of Mary's reign, led to insurrections breaking out in various parts of the country with the view of deposing the queen in favour of the Earl of Courtenay and Princess Elizabeth. The Duke of Suffolk, father of Lady Jane Grey, also joined the conspiracy, probably with a view of reviving his daughter's claim. Sir Thomas Wyatt and the Kentish insurgents were the most formidable. Wyatt penetrated almost to the gates of Whitehall, but the city was saved by the

courage of the queen ; for when she was urged to retire to the Tower she replied "that she would set no example of cowardice ; and if Pembroke and Clinton proved true to their posts, she would not desert hers."* When the battle was raging Mary took her place in the gallery of the gatehouse of the palace, and when Courtenay, who was playing the part of traitor, rushed in to her presence saying all was lost, she replied with infinite disdain, "Such was the fond opinion of those who durst not go near enough to see the truth of the trial," adding, "that she herself would immediately enter the battle and abide the upshot of her rightful quarrel, or die with the brave men then fighting for her, and so she prepared herself accordingly" (Holinshed, p. 1089). On the suppression of the rebellion the prisoners taken in arms were led into the tilt yard at Whitehall ; the queen appeared in the gallery above and pronounced their pardon, and when the Sheriff of Kent reported to her that some of them, in spite of her pardon, were being sent to take their trials, she interfered, saying, "I have pardoned them once, and they shall not be further vexed." Some sixty deserters were executed in different parts of the city for their treason in deserting in face of the enemy. Some half a dozen more were executed in Kent. Most of the prisoners in the Tower, on expressing their regret, were liberated. Only four of the ringleaders were put to death—the Duke of Suffolk, the father of Lady Jane Grey, who had repaid the Queen's mercy in pardoning his treason on the occasion of Northumberland's rebellion by this fresh treason, Wyatt himself, Lord Thomas Grey, and William Thomas. This rebellion, unfortunately, sealed the fate of Lady Jane Grey and Guildford Dudley. They had both been sentenced to death already, but Mary would not hear of its being carried out ; but now both the emperor and her Council represented that this present rebellion was the result of her former clemency, that Lady Jane Grey had again been proclaimed queen by Wyatt's men, that as long as she remained alive there would be no peace in the kingdom, and that reasons of State policy required that the death sentence should be carried out. Yielding to the pressure put upon her, the queen signed the warrant for the execution of Guildford Dudley and his wife.

* Renard MS. iii. 287.

Those who may be disposed to charge Queen Mary with undue severity under these circumstances would do well to compare her conduct with that of the good Queen Bess under similar circumstances.* About this time Queen Mary wrote to Cardinal Pole to ask his advice how to proceed with regard to the vacant bishoprics, and asking whether he had authority to issue a decree of confirmation (Tytler, ii. p. 303), for that neither she herself or any of those nominated for bishops were willing to proceed without the Pope's authority in a canonical manner (Quirini, iv. p. 127). Not receiving any answer, the queen wrote again on January 28. Pole in reply sent over Dr. Goldwell, afterwards Bishop of St. Asaph's, "with a commission to expounde to her highness his hole mynde and sentence" on this subject, but he does not explain it in writing (Strype's "Memories of Cranmer," Appendix No. lxxv.). Goldwell's instructions are printed in Strype as if they were all given at one and the same time, whereas this was the third occasion on which Goldwell had come over to England with instructions. These instructions seem to have put matters in the proper track. A commission was appointed, consisting of the bishops of Winchester, London, Chichester, and Durham, to try the cases of the seven Anglican prelates who had obtained possession of sees during the previous reign. On March 20, 1554, Taylor, Hooper, and Harlowe were deprived of their sees on account of *nullity* of consecration (Pocock's "Burnet," ii. p. 441), and the other four on the ground either of intrusion, marriage, and other canonical reasons. Pole then, on receiving letters from the seven Catholic bishops selected to fill the sees vacated by the deprivation of the seven Anglican prelates, sent over letters of absolution, dispensation, and confirmation. On the 7th of April the queen addressed a letter to the Pope with her own hand (Quirini, iv. p. 159), asking him to approve of what his legate had done, and in full consistory on the 6th of July, Pope Julius III. preconized the seven new bishops in the usual form, and on the 10th wrote to the queen to congratulate her on the choice she had made of bishops, and on her "proposing them for the confirmation of

* After the abortive Northern Rebellion (1570) some eight hundred people were hanged, and Elizabeth reprimanded her generals for not "executing justice more promptly."

the Apostolic See, according to the usual Catholic custom" (Raynaldus, xiv. p. 257-8). It is well, just now, to insist on this fact, because our Anglican friends are much given to saying that Mary acted in this matter entirely on the strength of the royal supremacy, and without having received any authority from the Holy See. On the 25th of July, 1554, Mary was married with great pomp to Philip at Winchester, and on the 30th of November following Cardinal Pole reconciled England to the Holy See.

This was followed by an Act of Grace. The Lord Chancellor and several of the councillors proceeded to the Tower, called before them the prisoners still confined there on account of the attempts of Northumberland and Wyatt, and informed them that at the intercession of the emperor, the king and queen had ordered them to be released (Lingard, v. p. 225).

The attitude of the Reformers towards the queen's government continued to be so seditious and threatening, after Wyatt's rebellion, that soon after her marriage the Council frequently debated what course had best be adopted to prevent any further disturbance of the public peace. The Reform party had hitherto been treated with a gentleness which for those times was unprecedented, but as forbearance had failed to conciliate them and only seemed to increase their audacity, the Council evidently thought that it was time to adopt more stringent measures in the interest of public order. Their final resolution was not made known to the queen till November, and Mary returned the following answer in writing:

Touching the punishment of heretics, we thinketh it ought to be done without rashness, not leaving in the meantime to do justice to such as by learning would seem to deceive the simple; and the rest so to be used that the people may well perceive them not to be condemned without just occasion; by which they shall both understand the truth, and beware not to do the like (Lingard, v. p. 229).

A number of the reformed preachers were already in prison, some as accomplices in Northumberland's and Wyatt's rebellion, others for preaching without a license, and some for disorderly and seditious sermons in which they incited the people to open revolt. Amongst these were Cranmer, Ridley, Latimer, Hooper, Rogers, Saunders, and Taylor. When Mary's

third Parliament met, it was proposed to revise the three statutes passed against the Lollards, under Richard II., Henry IV., and Henry V. An Act was introduced for this purpose. It was considered so necessary to act firmly under the circumstances with the turbulent and seditious party of fanatics who make the cloak of religion only an excuse for disloyalty, that every voice was in its favour, and in four days it passed both Houses of Parliament. On January 16, 1555, Mary dissolved her third Parliament and gave her assent to its Acts. She had been taken seriously ill in the previous November, and she continued so unwell that she had to be carried to her throne in the House of Lords when she dissolved Parliament on January 16. We read in "*Machyn's Diary*" (p. 84) that "on April 3 the king's grace removed the queen to Hampton Court to keep Easter and to take her chamber there," as was usual when an heir to the throne was expected. But Mary's illness was not owing to her approaching confinement, but it proved to be dropsy, which told of the complete break up of her constitution and made her quite incapable of attending to public business. Michele, the Venetian Ambassador, writes home to the Senate to say :

From the time of her first affliction she was a prey to the severest headaches, her head being frightfully swelled; she was likewise subject to perpetual attacks of hysteria, which other women exhale by tears and piercing cries (MS. Lansdowne, p. 840, A. fol. 157, British Museum).

Michele also adds: "Sometimes she lay for weeks without speaking, as one dead, and more than once the rumour went out that she had died in childbed."

So general was this knowledge of her state, that the King of France instructed his ambassador to go down to Hampton Court and to try to see the queen, "watching her countenance all the time." Noailles went to Hampton Court in May, but the queen was too ill to receive him, and he writes to his king to say :

That the queen would never bring any child into the world; and that the wise woman and the old maid who had attended her from her youth had declared that the queen's supposed state was by no means of a hopeful kind generally supposed, but rather some woeful malady, for she sat

whole days on the ground crouched together with her knees higher than her head (Noailles' "Ambassades," v. p. 26, 27).

In the following September we find Mary somewhat better. An Irish physician had diagnosed her complaint correctly, and had been able to give her some relief. For a few days she tried to attend to public business, but her health again gave way, and she was never seen again at the council board. "The queen herself never came to the Council, and the cardinal very seldom; sometimes there were very few that attended that board; often not above three or four" ("Burnet," iii. p. 440, ed. 1865).

Mary's Protestant biographer, Miss Strickland, remarks :

With her married life the independence of her reign ceased; from whatever cause, either owing to her desperate state of health, or from her idea of wifely duty, Philip, whether absent or present, guided the English Government. . . . Philip gave his commands and wrote his mind with no more recognition of his wife's authority than was observed by Henry VII. to Elizabeth of York. When he left England, the queen desired Cardinal Pole to make minutes of the king's last injunctions for the Privy Council, and they are still preserved in his handwriting. . . . These documents afford incontestable proof that Philip of Spain not Mary of England was the reigning sovereign of England. If this had not been the case, how could the truthful Fuller, the historian of our Church, who lived too near the times of Queen Mary to be deceived, thus speak of her? "She had been a worthy princess if as little cruelty was done under her as by her. She hated to equivocate, and always was what she was without dissembling her judgment or conduct for fear or flattery."*

Mr. Tytler (ii. p. 481), one of the very best authorities on the history of this period, also remarks to the same effect: "It has been observed by Sir James Macintosh, that Philip, when the prospect of having children by Mary became visionary, hastened to quit England and afterwards 'disregarded the affairs of a turbulent people, upon whom he had no hold but the slight thread of a hypochondriacal woman'" ("Hist. of Eng.," ii. p. 335). Here this eloquent writer has been led into error. Although Philip quitted England, he constantly corresponded with the Privy Council, received long despatches from them, and replied to them at equal length. No affair of any public importance was determined without

* Strickland, ii. p. 645.

his being consulted. The minutes of the meetings of the Privy Council were translated into Latin and transmitted to him at Brussels. These he seems to have read with much attention. Having made his remarks likewise in Latin, he sent them back to the Council, and they remain in the State Paper Office, with the king's notes in the margin. Instead, therefore, of disregarding the affairs of England, he continued, though absent, to take an active interest and exercised a controlling influence upon public affairs. There is in the State Paper Office a minute of the Council, dated Sept. 1533, with Philip's remarks upon it, which show how entirely he had taken the control of public affairs into his own hands. He writes to say :

It appears to the king that all these matters ought to be treated by a Council of eight select councillors; and when they have canvassed the matter, they should then inform the king's Majesty, who will communicate his decision to them. And as his Majesty for his earnest love to the kingdom of England is anxious that all things which concern its welfare should conveniently be provided for, he desires also that nothing should be proposed in Parliament without its having been first communicated to his Majesty, in order that he may signify his opinion, when the time fixed for the convocation of Parliament permits it (Tytler, p. 484).

This shows how completely Mary had disappeared from public, and how completely she was, owing to her desperate fits of illness, obliged to leave the control of public affairs in the hands of Philip and her Council, and it may be well doubted if she was allowed even to know what was being done in her name. There can be no doubt that the warrants for the trial and execution of Protestants were issued and executed by the Council without the royal signature being obtained.

Who then is to be held responsible for those severe measures, taken during the last three years of her reign, which have led posterity to style her "Bloody Mary."

What kindled and fanned the flames of Smithfield? What raised and kept alive the Popish persecution in the days of Queen Mary? Was it her own sanguinary disposition? or was she the slave of her husband's cruel superstition? or were both the tools of foreigners, who certainly hated the English because they were heretics, but more deadly the heretics because they were Englishmen? Was it "Wily

Winchester"? or was it "Bloody Bonner"? or was it something in the spirit of the Church of which both were zealous members?

Maitland, who asks these questions ("Essays on Subjects Connected with the Reformation in England," p. 41), answers them as follows :

Whatever may be said on any or on all of these points, there was undoubtedly one other cause, which, if it be too much to say that it has been studiously concealed or disguised, has certainly never occupied that prominent place to which it is entitled in such an inquiry. I mean the bitter and provoking spirit of some of those who were very active and forward in promoting the progress of the Reformation; the political opinions they held and the language in which they disseminated them; the fierce personal attacks which they made on those they considered their enemies; and to say the least, the little care which was taken by those who were really actuated by religious motives and seeking a true reformation of the Church to shake off a *lewd, ungodly, profane rabble*, who joined the cause of Protestantism, thinking in their depraved imaginations or hoping to make it by their wicked devices the cause of liberty against law, of the poor against the rich, of the laity against the clergy, of the people against their rulers. In particular it seems impossible that any reflecting mind, even misled by partial relations or prejudiced by doctrinal opinions, should fail to see as a mere matter of fact in how great a degree the persecution of Protestants in England was caused by the conduct of their brethren in exile.

It was the conduct of this lewd, ungodly, profane rabble that forced the Government to adopt severe measures for their repression. As a party, the Reformers traded not only in sedition, but in high treason. They had twice risen in armed rebellion in order to depose the queen. They were continually hatching fresh plots against the Government and even against the queen's life. They were flooding the country with scurrilous and dangerous literature, inciting the people not only to depose the queen, but to kill her. What could the Government do in the face of such circumstances? What would our present Government do, supposing any body of socialists or anarchists were to make similar attempts not only against the Government, but against the life of the present queen? No Government worthy of the name could hesitate for a moment to adopt measures of stern repression in dealing with such men. It would be a libel on the Council to accuse them as a body of being actuated by any zeal for the Roman Catholic religion.

The principal calamities of Mary's life were inflicted by the anti-Papal Catholics, who were at this era greatly superior in numbers and political power to either of the others (Protestant or Catholic). From their ranks had been drawn the rigorous ministry that aided Henry VIII. in his long course of despotic cruelty, his rapacity, his bigamies and his religious persecutions. The survivors of this junta were now the ministers of Queen Mary. Renard, the Imperial Ambassador, writes to the emperor, March 22, 1553, to say that the number of councillors was the cause of great confusion, and that the only remedy for this was the limitation of that body to five or six.

Upon this subject [he says] that Paget, Petre and himself had conferred together at the queen's request. The other councillors and nobles, the Admiral, Pembroke, Derby, Shrewsbury, Sussex, and the rest were to be allowed to attend when they were at Court, but not after the close of Parliament. They were to be employed in distant parts of the realm; whilst the Chancellor,* Arundel, the Bishop of Norwich, Paget, the Comptroller,† and Petre were to be entrusted with the affairs of the State.

He states, at the same time, that Gardiner's party was the weaker and unable to stand against his opponents (Tytler, ii. p. 346). Gardiner, with Thirlby, Bishop of Norwich, and Rochester, represented the Catholic party. Paget, with Arundel and Petre, represented the anti-Papal party.

Renard writes again, May 25, 1554, to say:

The parties which divide the Council are so many, and their disputes so public, they are so banded the one against the other, that they forget the service of the queen to think of their private passions and quarrels. Nothing is done but by the Queen's express orders. Paget with the heretics is leagued against the Chancellor and the Catholics (Tytler, p. 399).

He writes also, May 1, 1554: "It is true that I have observed Paget to hold constant intercourse with heretics" (Tytler, ii. p. 386). Paget, owing to his Protestant leanings, had opposed the Bills in Parliament for the punishment of heretics, and the statute which made it a capital offence to take arms against Philip of Spain. Renard writes, May 13, 1554, that

Paget, stung with remorse, has lately presented himself to the queen after her mass, and asked her mercy for his intrigues in the late Parlia-

* Gardiner.

† Sir R. Rochester.

ment. . . . After some remonstrance the queen pardoned him, recommending him to behave better in time to come. As soon as the Chancellor and his party were aware of such a mode of proceeding, they began to suspect that some plot was in hand against the queen between Paget, Arundel, Pembroke, Cobham, and other noble heretics; and that to conceal it the better, Paget had adopted this course (Tytler, ii. p. 393).

As Gardiner was absent on an embassy in France, and died soon after his return, Paget and his party were able to control the Council. He was secretary under Henry VIII., councillor under Edward VI., Mary and Elizabeth.* Arundel was another politician of the same stamp, and so was Petre, who had been one of Henry VIII.'s visitors for the suppression of the monasteries. They were turncoats with every change of the political weathercock, and traitors to every cause. They had, moreover, learnt their political principles at the feet of Henry VIII., Cranmer, and the Protector Somerset, to whom Calvin writes for his guidance when dealing with Catholics in a letter, translated by Cranmer, to say :

As I understand, you have two kinds of mutineers against the king and the estates of the realm : the one are a fantastical people who, under colour of the Gospel, would set all to confusion ; the others are stubborn people in the superstition of the Antichrist of Rome. These altogether do deserve to be well punished by a sword, seeing they do conspire against the king and against God, who hath set him in the royal seat. Of all things let there be no moderation. It is the bane of genuine improvement (MSS. Edward VI. vol. v., 1548).

The chief agents in the Protestant persecution were themselves crypto-Protestants, who, under Edward VI., had helped to establish Protestantism, and who, under Elizabeth, helped to pull down the Church they had set up under Queen Mary. They were merely politicians dealing with a political crisis. They were shrewd enough to take in the situation, and to trim their sails accordingly. The Catholics formed nine-tenths of the people. They

saw everything which to them was most precious and hallowed, and which had come down to them with the sanction and traditions of more than a thousand years, insulted and trampled under foot by men whose language proved them to be bad subjects of the Crown, as well as their

* He was, under Edward VI., deprived of his office of secretary for peculation in 1552, and degraded from the Order of the Garter (Tytler, ii. 107).

lives showed them to be bad champions of religion. Men had seen the horrible excesses which some of these so-called Reformers, such as Thomas Muncey, and John Boccold of Leyden, the Anabaptist leaders at Munster, and Theodore the Adamite at Amsterdam had committed, and it was not strange if they thought that the only way was to deal with the peril as we did with the Sepoy Mutiny and with the cattle plague (Littledale's "Innovations," p. 18).

In order to judge fairly of the doings of these times, it is absolutely necessary to bear in mind that neither Queen Mary or any of her contemporaries knew anything about the modern principle of religious toleration. Protestant and Catholic alike regarded heresy as a soul destroying evil. They held that individuals had no more right to spread abroad amongst the people what they considered spiritual murder than they had to spread the plague of the Black Death, and that it was the duty of the State to prevent them from doing so by every means in its power.

Moreover, men had not yet learned to distinguish between religion and politics. The Reformers of Mary's time looked upon it as their first duty to pull down the Government of the ungodly as the great hindrance to the spread of the Gospel, and the Government of the ungodly, on the other hand, naturally defended itself from such attacks by every means in its power. If men chose to make religion only another name for political intrigue, sedition and high treason, they must not complain if they suffer the penalties of the law of high treason, which is the same now as it was then. Such practices are not put down with rose water at any time, especially in Tudor times. The popular notion that the Reformers were good, holy men, who spent their time in saying their prayers and expounding the Bible, is ludicrously unhistorical. They were nothing of the kind. They were, as a rule, pronounced revolutionists, and many of them bloodthirsty fanatics, whose trust was in the sword rather than in the Lord. And as such the Council dealt with them. Their attempt to stir up fresh disturbance, after Wyatt's rebellion had been put down, by flooding the country with revolutionary literature containing gross and scandalous attacks upon the sovereign was unquestionably the immediate cause of the severe measures taken against them. Renard, in a despatch to the emperor, dated April 22, 1554

(Tytler, p. 371), mentions incidentally the queen's indignation at the attacks made upon her. He says :

She then showed me a bill which had been thrown upon her kitchen table—the most seditious thing in the world—full of threats against herself, against the Chancellor, against the High Treasurer and others; and in which there are strange things said about his highness and the Spaniards, openly declaring that his highness must take his chance at his coming.

It will only be necessary to quote a few passages from the works of the guiding spirits of the Reform movement to satisfy every impartial mind that, considering the excited state of the public feeling and probable effect of such productions in provoking further breaches of the peace, that as gentle measures had failed to conciliate the turbulent rabble, the Council were forced to adopt severe measures of repression. For instance, Knox, in his "Blast against the Monstrous Regimen of Women," writes :

How abominable before God is the empire and rule of a wicked woman Horrible is the vengeance which is prepared for the promoters and for the persons promoted unless they repent. . . . Wherefore, let men that receive of women authority, honour or office, be most assuredly persuaded that in so maintaining that usurped power they declare themselves enemies of God. And finally, they must study to repress her inordinate pride and tyranny to the utmost of their power. . . . First, they ought to remove from authority that monster in Nature (so I call a woman in habit of a man, yea, a woman against Nature reigning above man). Secondly, if they presume to defend that impiety, they ought not to fear first to pronounce and then after to execute against them the sentence of death (p. 52).

Goodman, another Reformer, and afterwards an Anglican bishop, likewise rails at the queen in the same terms in his "Superior Magistrate" :

By giving authority to an idolatrous woman you have banished Christ and His Gospel, and in His place you have restored Antichrist with all his infections wherein your own consciences condemn you of evil. Then in taking again the same authority from her, you shall restore Christ and his words do well. In obeying her you have displeased God. Then in disobeying her ye shall please God. Because you have given place to her and her counsels, you all become idolatrous hypocrites, and also traitors to your own country. By resisting her and her wicked decrees,

you must be made true worshippers of God and faithful Englishmen* (p. 103).

Ponet, in his "Treatise on Political Power," does not hesitate to say of the queen: "So that now both by God's laws and man's she ought to be punished with death" (p. 96). Works equally violent, scurrilous, and dangerous in tone were written by Bale, Traheron, Becon, Bradford, and other Reformers, and scattered broadcast through the country, of which abundant specimens may be seen in Maitland. That the fear of the effect of such writings upon the people created alarm amounting almost to a panic, we may conclude from the words of Dr. Parker (afterwards Archbishop) to Lord Keeper Bacon about certain books

that went then about London, being printed and spread abroad, and their authors *ministers of good estimation*. At which, said Parker, *exhorrescum ista legerem*. Adding, if such principles be spread in men's heads, as now they be framed and referred to the judgment of the subject to discuss *what is tyranny*, and to discern whether his prince, his landlord, his master is a tyrant by his own fancy and collect on supposed, what Lord of the Council shall ride quietly-minded in the streets among desperate beasts? What minister shall be safe in his bed-chamber?†

The more reasonable party amongst the Reformers were not slow to censure the conduct of the party of action, and to tell them that they had their own inexcusable violence to thank for the harsh measures adopted against them. We have a letter, published by David Whitehead and other English exiles, dated Frankfort, Sept. 20, 1555, in which they say:

There were interspersed in this (Knox's) publication atrocious and horrible calumnies against the Queen of England, whom Knox called at one time the "wicked Mary," at another a "monster." And he exasperated King Philip also by language not much less violent. When men had read this infamous libel, attached as they are to true religion and to our Church, they thought it neither profitable or safe to ourselves that Knox should be received with honour by our Church. . . . You cannot but be aware how unbecoming it would have been in us impotently to rage in half-muttered abuse against magistrates, not perhaps because they do not deserve it, but because of the office imposed upon them by God. This we can assure you, that that outrageous pamphlet of Knox's added much oil to the flame of persecution in England. For before the

* One of Goodman's followers actually made an attempt on the queen's life.

† Strype's "Life of Parker," i. 85.

publication of that book not one of our brethren had suffered death (Lee's "*Life of Cardinal Pole*," p. 193).

Collier also, in a mild way, admits the truth of this indictment, for he says :

These, it must be owned, were very unjustifiable sallies. What could be more provoking to the Court than to see the queen's honour aspersed, their religion insulted, their preachers shot at in the pulpit, and a lewd imposture played against the Government? Had the reformed been more smooth and inoffensive in their behaviour, had the eminent clergy of that party published an abhorrence of such unwarrantable methods, it is possible, some may say, they might have met with gentler usage and prevented the persecution from flaming out (ii. 371).

Long and serious debates were held in council as to what steps had best be taken to put a stop to these outrages. Mary, Philip, Cardinal Pole, and the Catholic bishops generally were understood to be opposed to extreme measures, but the majority of the Council prevailed, and it was determined to make an example that, it was hoped, would teach the Reformers the necessity of abandoning all recourse to open acts of treason and sedition. In order to add solemnity to the proceedings the Lord Chancellor, on January 22nd, called before him six prisoners who were in prison for seditious conduct. Of these, four, Hooper of Gloucester, Rogers, Prebend of St. Paul's, Saunders, Rector of All Hallows, in London, and Taylor, Rector of Hadley, in Suffolk, were condemned and executed. This was the first and only occasion in which Gardiner presided at such proceedings. Six other prisoners were also condemned on the same occasion, but on the following day Alphonso de Castro, a Spanish friar and confessor to King Philip, in a sermon before the Court, which, it was believed, was intended as a protest on behalf of the King and Queen, in order to clear themselves of all the responsibility for such proceedings, denounced these executions in the strongest terms as contrary not only to the spirit, but to the letter of the Gospel; that it was not by severity, but by mildness, that men were to be brought into the fold of Christ, and that it was the duty of bishops not to seek the death, but to instruct the ignorance of their misguided brethren.* The result of this discourse was

* Lingard, v. 231.

that all further proceedings against the Reformers were stopped, and it is more than probable that they would not have been renewed if it had not been for the senseless fanaticism of the Reformers themselves. A few days afterwards a fanatic named Flower stabbed a priest while giving Communion at St. Margaret's, Westminster, so that not only his vestments, but the chalice were covered with blood,* and, further, it was discovered that a fresh insurrection was being organised in Cambridge, Suffolk, and Norfolk. Such conduct furnished the advocates of severe measures in the Council with an unanswerable argument, viz., that experience had fully proved that nothing but severity was of any use in dealing with men whose threatening attitude constituted a standing danger not only to the peace of the realm, but even to the life of the sovereign. The question was again debated in council, and after five weeks the advocates of severity carried the day. A Commission was issued, February 8th, 1537, to Bonner and other magistrates to this effect :

For so much, as diverse devilish and clamorous persons have not only invented, bruited and set forth divers false rumours, tales and seditious slanders against us, but also have sown divers heresies and heretical opinions and set forth divers seditious books, within this our realm of England, meaning thereby to move, procure, and set up divisions, strife, and contentions and seditions, not only amongst our beloved subjects, but also between us and our said subjects; with divers other outrageous misdemeanours, enormities, contempts and offences, daily committed and done to the disquieting of us and our people; we, minding and intending the due punishment of such offenders and repressing of such like offences, enormities and misbehaviours, have authorised, appointed, and assigned you to be our Commissioners, and by these presents do give full power and authority unto you, and three of you to inquire as well by the oaths of twelve good and lawful men as by witnesses and all other means and politic ways you can devise of all and sundry heresies, heretical opinions, lollardies, heretical and seditious books, concealments and contempts, conspiracies, and of all false rumours, tales, seditions and clamorous words and sayings published, bruited or set forth against us, or either of us, or against the quiet governance and rule of our subjects by books, letters, tales or otherwise in any county, city, borough or other place or places within this our realm of England,

and much more to the same effect. It was also ordered that—

* See other instances in Strype, iii. 210, 212.

If any person or persons . . . do obstinately persist or stand in any manner of heresy or heretical opinion . . . that the same person or persons, so standing or persisting, be delivered and committed to his ordinary, there to be used according to the spiritual and ecclesiastical laws (Rol. Pat. 3 and 4, Philip and Mary, p. 2 in dorso, given by Dodd, ii. p. clxii).

The terms of this Commission clearly prove that the measures adopted by the Council were taken for political reasons rather than purely religious ones. Parliament felt obliged to make it high treason publicly to pray for the queen's death, or to print, possess or circulate seditious literature, and it was for these offences that many of the Reformers were put on their trial.

Heylin's evidence goes to show that the Catholic bishops acted as a rule with great moderation. He says :

In all the province of York, I find none brought unto the stake but George Marsh of Chester, condemned thereto by Bishop Cotes; and not much more to be done in the four Welsh dioceses, in which, besides the burning of Bishop Ferrar at Caermarthen by Bishop Morgan, and of Rawlins and White at Cardiff by Bishop Kitchin, no extraordinary cruelty seems to have been acted. In the dioceses of Wells, Exeter, Peterborough, and Lincoln, though this last is the greatest in the kingdom, I find mention but of one apiece, of two in Ely, and of no more than three apiece at Bristol and Salisbury. In those of Oxon, Gloucester, Worcester, and Hereford, I find none at all (p. 56, ed. 1661).

Pole, Gardiner, and Heath are well-known to have disapproved of the severity of the Council* as impolitic and likely rather to injure than to serve the Catholic cause. The "rattling letters" addressed from time to time to Bonner and other Catholic bishops by the Council censuring their remissness in giving effect to the instructions of the Council proves that they were unwilling to take the initiative or to do more than they could help doing—*i.e.*, try cases sent to them by the Council or by its Commissioners.† Even Bonner excused himself on this ground, that he was acting under compulsion.

I am [he said to a prisoner named Philpot] right sorry for your trouble; neither would I you should think that I am the cause thereof. I

* Lingard, v. p. 228, note 2.

† See Fox, iii. 208, 210, 223, 317, 328, 344, 522, 588, 660, 723, and Strype, iii. 239, 240.

marvel that other men should trouble me with their matters, but I must be obedient to my betters, and I fear men speak of me otherwise than I deserve.*

It may be well here to notice the calumny so often repeated, that Bonner and other Catholic bishops sent the Reformers to the stake as heretics. No Catholic bishop in Mary's reign ever sent any one to the scaffold, for the simple reason that he could not do so. The right to condemn men to death is the exclusive prerogative of the Crown, which it exercises through the criminal courts. The distinction between the criminal and ecclesiastical courts was the same then that it is now. No ecclesiastical court has ever at any time been allowed to inflict capital punishment on any one, or to do more than inflict the spiritual censures of the Church, such as suspension, degradation, and excommunication. For instance, Paul IV., in his decree of Cranmer's condemnation, which is directed to Philip and Mary, "only requires them to deal with him, after he is delivered up to the secular court, as the law directs" [*Postquam curiæ seculari traditus fuerit, id quod juris est, fieri mandetis. Ex bulla Pauli IV., Wilkin's "Conc. Mag. Brit." vol. iv. page 132*] without the least insinuation of any bodily punishment. The same sentence, in similar cases, is so universally understood not to extend to mutilation, or taking away the life of the delinquent, that the bishop, or whoever delivers him to the civil magistrate, always concludes the proceedings of the spiritual court in this manner.

We beseech you, with all earnestness, that for the love of Almighty God, and on the motive of compassion, and because we ask it of you, that you will not condemn this miserable person to death, or the loss of his limbs. [*Ibid.* p. 136].

In the writ for Cranmer's execution, the king and queen expressly take notice, that the criminal being condemned for heresy and degraded, as the Church neither had, nor ought to proceed any further in the affair, he was delivered over to them (the king and queen) *according to the laws and customs of the realm, provided in such cases, and condemned to be burnt, in detestation of his guilt, and for a warning to other Christians†*

* Fox, iii. 462.

† Above extract from "History of the Life of Reginald Pole," vol. ii., 2nd ed., pp. 225, 226. London, 1767. Anon.

[Et cum etiam mater Ecclesia non habet quod ulterius in hoc parte faciat, aut facere debeat. . . . Juxta leges consuetudines Regni nostri Angliæ damnatum et degradatum comburi facietis, in hujusmodi criminis detestationem, et aliorum Christianorum exemplum manifestum. *Ibid.* page 140. Ex. Rol. Pat. 2° et 2° Phil. et Mar. pars 2].*

Before judging too severely the action of Mary's Council, it is only fair to remember the excessive severity of the criminal law at the time. For instance, Hamilton, in his "History of Quarter Sessions from Elizabeth to Anne," p. 31, says that at Exeter in 1598, the result of the two Assizes and four Quarter Sessions was the hanging of seventy-four persons for comparatively trivial offences, such as sheep stealing. Sir James Stephen, in his "History of English Criminal Law" (i. 467), remarks upon this fact: "If the average number of executions in each county were twenty or a little more than a quarter of the number of capital sentences in Devonshire in 1598, this would make 800 executions a year in the forty English counties." And this under Elizabeth, who is called the "Good Queen Bess!"

Considering the provocation given, and comparing the conduct of Mary's Government with that of those of Henry VIII., Edward VI. and Elizabeth, it certainly cannot fairly be charged with exceptional severity. There can be little doubt that any of these governments would have acted with equal if not greater severity. The persecution continued more or less during the three last years of Mary's reign. Sometimes milder counsels prevailed. On one occasion all prisoners were liberated on the easy condition of swearing to be true to God and the queen (Strype, iii. 307). Fresh conspiracies were hatched, to which the Council replied by fresh executions. Noailles was the Mephistopheles of Mary's reign. It was his continual plotting that brought so many of the Reformers, who were foolish enough to join in his intrigues, within the meshes of the law. The persecution of Protestants was undertaken on political rather than religious grounds. They were held responsible, and justly so, for Wyatt's rebellion and other attempts against the Government. There is not a

* The parts in brackets are footnotes in original.

single instance to be found in the whole of Mary's reign of any leading Protestant, who was loyal to the queen and behaved himself as a good and peaceable citizen, being molested on account of his religion. Cranmer, Ridley, Latimer, Hooper, and others, although burnt as heretics, had already compromised themselves by public acts of treason and sedition against the Crown and Government; acts which under the ordinary law deserved capital punishment.

It is not the object of this paper to detail the well-known facts of Mary's reign, to be found in any ordinary history, and so we must hasten to the end. Mary's health gradually declined. Owing to the prevalence of continuous wet weather, while residing at Richmond in the spring of 1558, she caught a bad intermittent fever, and on November 17, 1558, she died. The Duchess of Feria, her intimate friend, thus describes her last end:

That morning hearing mass, which was celebrated in her chamber, she being at the last point (for no day passed in her life that she heard not mass) and although sick to death, she heard it with so good attention, zeal and devotion, as she answered in every part with him that served the priest; such yet was the quickness of her senses and memory; and when the priest came to that part to say *Agnus Dei qui tollis peccata mundi*, she answered plainly and distinctly to every one, *Miserere nobis, Miserere nobis, Dona nobis pacem*. Afterwards, seeming to meditate something with herself, when the priest took the Sacred Host to consume it, she adored it with her voice and countenance, presently closed her eyes, and rendered her blessed soul to God. This the duchess related to me, tears pouring from her eyes, that the last thing the queen saw in this world was her Saviour and Redeemer in the sacramental species; no doubt to behold Him presently after in His glorious Body in heaven. A blessed and glorious passage. *Anima mea cum anima ejus* ("Life of the Duchess of Feria," p. 71).

She was buried on the north side of Henry VII's Chapel. Two small tablets, erected by order of James I., mark the spot where she and her half-sister Elizabeth are buried, with this simple inscription:

"Regno Consortes et urna obdormimus hic Elisabetha et Maria Sorores in spe Resurrectionis."

Whilst holding that Mary Tudor was personally by far the best and noblest of the Tudors, it is not necessary to maintain that she was a great ruler, or that she made no political mis-

takes. Her extreme leniency in dealing with traitors in the beginning of her reign was probably a political mistake, which in some measure created the necessity for the severe measures that had to be taken afterwards.

Her marriage with Philip of Spain was certainly a political mistake, which gave her enemies a handle against her, though it is not easy to see what other alliance was open to her. Her aversion to all duplicity was also diplomatically a mistake. It enabled her enemies to take measures to frustrate her best intentions. It may be said that the queen must be held responsible for all that was done during her reign, and in a sense that is true. But, on the other hand, we must remember that Mary was the first queen regnant, and that under our system of government the sovereign is very much in the hands of her ministers. Every English sovereign is obliged to be guided by the advice of responsible ministers, even in matters which they personally may not approve of. Mary had repeatedly declared that she would do nothing without the sanction of Parliament. Again, it may be said that she ought not to have selected such well-known, cruel, and anti-Papal ministers as Paulet, Arundel, and Petre. But here, again, it must be pointed out that the queen was not free to select whom she would. Her choice was determined by circumstances. She had to choose her ministers from the majority in Parliament, and trust to their patriotism to consult the best interests of the country. Mary is to be held personally responsible for the burning of heretics, only in the same sense in which Queen Victoria is to be held responsible for the massacre of Sepoys during the Indian Mutiny.

The chief error of one-sided historians is a negative one. They ought not to have ignored Mary's virtues. They ought not to have forgotten the gentleness, the mercy and generosity with which she treated her enemies, till their conduct became so intolerable as to force her Government to reverse her policy. They should have weighed more carefully the early wrongs that wrapped her later life in gloom, as set forth in the words put into her mouth by a modern poet :

Sum up my personal life. You knew me first
A daughter witness of her mother's wrongs,

A daughter conscious of her father's crimes,
 A princess shorn of her inheritance,
 A lady taunted with foul bastardy,
 A sister from a brother's heart estranged,
 A sister by a sister's hand betrayed,
 A rightful queen hemmed by usurping bands,
 A reigning queen baited by slaves she spared,
 A maid betrothed stung by the love she trusted,
 A wedded wife spurned from the hand that won her.*

Thus the "red spectre" of Protestant history has disappeared and has given place to the figure of a lady who, for the excellence of her personal character, her stern sense of duty, her patriotism, and her earnest desire to do what she conceived the best for her country, resembled our present Queen more than any female sovereign that ever sat upon the throne of England. Mr. Tytler closes his work with the following remark :

Amid the exaggerated praises of the Roman Catholic writers and the high-wrought invectives of their Protestant opponents, the calm and unprejudiced decision of Bishop Godwin, himself a Protestant, is perhaps the nearest to the truth : she was a lady very godly, merciful, chaste, and every way praiseworthy, if you regard not the errors of her religion.

Mulier sane pia, clemens, moribusque castissimis, si religionis errorem non spectes (p. 340. London, 1630).

Time has rolled back the cloud of calumny in which Mary's enemies have sought to enshroud her memory and has given effect to the motto she wished to have inscribed upon her tomb :

Bury me with my mother,
 Raise tombs of honour to our memory,
 And grave on mine the motto I have loved—
 Prophetic may it prove—Time unveils Truth.

J. D. BREEN, O.S.B.

* Sir Aubrey de Vere's "Mary Tudor," p. 319.

ART. IX.—MR. BALFOUR'S PHILOSOPHY.

The Foundations of Belief, being Notes introductory to the Study of Theology. By the Right Hon. A. J. BALFOUR. Third Edition. London: 1895.

LIKE a musical symphony, this polished, ingenious, and suggestive volume falls into three parts, the first and the last of which are easier to follow, and much more taking, than the middle. With Mr. Balfour's assault upon the Naturalism born in some scientific brains of a knowledge wrongly interpreted, it is impossible not to sympathise. With his argument for the completion of physics by metaphysics, for the Good, the True, and the Beautiful, as alone justified by the Religion in which they find an everlasting foundation, no Christian, and assuredly no Catholic, will be disposed to quarrel. But the author himself, sensitively anxious not to steal away our assent by rhetoric, has warned us that we may purchase certain very precious things at famine prices. And if we are asked to buy Religion at the expense of Reason—to be sceptics in order that we may have faith; and to turn first principles into mere assumptions—we can hardly be deemed over-scrupulous in cross-examining the apologetics, which appear to contravene Bishop Butler's sovereign maxim whereby we are forbidden to set down reason as delusive or superfluous.

Many sentences, scattered up and down these eloquent paragraphs, sound the alarm. But there is one, towards the latter end of the volume, which is as frank as it is uncomfortable to the mind nourished on Catholic teaching. So far as Mr. Balfour can see, he tells us, "rational necessity does not carry us at the best beyond a system of mere 'solipsism.'" And what is this strange-looking system, denoted by so singular a name? It is the doctrine of Fichte, far celebrated and long ago laughed to scorn, that each man knows absolutely nothing but himself, and the creations, or shadows, or outward-seeming projections of his own mind. The Ego which I am is all I can ever apprehend. I make my world, and it is a dream—no more. I am a prisoner within painted walls, beyond which

what is there? The paintings themselves are but an adornment which I, the artist, have devised from my own fancies; they yield no information touching a world independent of me, or existing when I am not there to look upon it. Knowledge, then, according to Fichte, was the dream of a dreamer who could not wake out of his sleep. It was wholly subjective; in the strictest sense a fiction, made by the Ego in trance. And this, if we are to read Mr. Balfour's sentence in the light of everyday English, is the sum and substance of that knowledge at which we arrive by "rational necessity."

A paradox, or a dangerous and unfounded principle! Certainly a paradox. For what does all the world understand by the word "rational"? That which reason can prove by argument? If so, the axioms and postulates, the self-evident propositions, without which reason cannot prove anything at all, would be "non-rational"; and what becomes of our mathematics, our abstract logic, the principle of contradiction itself? Or does "rational" signify, not merely that which reason demonstrates, but that which reason perceives, affirms because it is "*per se notum*" (in the language of Aristotle and the Schools), declares with perfect certitude, spontaneous or reflex? If this latter position be granted, Mr. Balfour's "rational necessity" strikes its flag to Fichte. And equally so if it be denied. For then, as it is certain that first truths, whether abstract or concrete, are incapable of demonstration, it follows that, since we do not know them by their self-evidence, we can affirm them only by instinct. Now instinct, as such, is blind; and to establish the whole of human knowledge upon that which has none in itself, is to drive us back into the prison of non-verified and unverifiable assumptions. We may indeed trust in them, but our trust, like every other act of a purely subjective intellect, will be part and parcel of one great delusion, the spell of which no reasoning can dissolve.

Here, as I am compelled to think, is the peril of a treatment only too well calculated to become popular in these days of a decadent sentimentalism, murmuring against the Naturalist guides who have led it into the wilderness, but so incurably sceptical that it feels disposed to believe once more in the old, simply because it has given up trusting in the new. Again and again, as I turn these pages, I am reminded of a witty

saying I heard upon occasion, to the effect that "Science and Religion are both false; but Religion is not quite so false as Science." Unhandsome, not to say unfair, as it would be to welcome the kind intentions of Mr. Balfour with this cynical epigram, must we not feel that his strong indictment of Reason, his appeal to "non-rational impulse," his disparagement, no less continual than passionate, of the function which intellect is called upon to exercise in the individual, his reduction of what used to be known as "antecedent probability" to "climate" and "prejudice," his denial that authority, though a "motive," can be, in the vast majority of cases, a "reason" such as theologians have always insisted that it was, his explanation of metaphysical grounds as biological needs, and, in general, the superseding of evidence by instinct to which he is ever resorting, leave us with no standard—I do not say upon which to argue with unbelievers or to engage in written controversy—but whereby to discriminate between the prepossessions out of which springs Naturalism, and the reasonable convictions in the strength of which we do homage to a sound philosophy and subscribe the articles of the Catholic faith? If the empirical champions, Mr. Spencer, Professor Huxley, and John Mill rely at last upon instinct, and if St. Paul and St. Thomas Aquinas do no more, why should I choose to follow the orthodox when their adversaries hold out to me a number of agreeable inducements to go with them? Is it all a matter of liking, or of association? How, then, is it not a matter of taste for which the individual need not apologise, but likewise need offer no excuse? Unless temperament, training, impulse, "climate" itself, can be brought down, directly or indirectly, to reason with its evidences and its intellectual justifications, all Mr. Balfour's persuasive and forcible reasoning in detail is so much rhetoric, rational as regards the terms chosen, but addressed to the fancy, the passions, the idiosyncrasies of those who feel with him. It is advocacy clad in argument, and takes for granted that which is in dispute.

Such indeed we should reckon it, were the beginning and the end of his discussion to be set down at the value which his theory puts upon them. Yet, by some rare good fortune, though with the sacrifice of consistency, our apologist exemplifies in arguing against Materialism the method of a

school whose principles are sounder than his own. It is altogether in the Christian tradition of philosophy to show, as Mr. Balfour succeeds most admirably in showing, that a blind mechanical interpretation of phenomena, where, in the causes and conditions of the universe, Mind has no place, can neither explain nor even tolerate Mind in the effects; that such a scheme is as incapable of producing, as it is imbecile in accounting for, the sacredness of ethics, the specific meaning of the Beautiful, and the aims, the contents, or the validity of that reasoning power without which it could not stir one step. All this we applaud and admire, not chiefly because it gratifies our taste, or chimes in with prejudices long nurtured within us, or responds to an instinct the comfort of which we have oftentimes experienced, but on this account, that the intellect, enlightened by its own certitude, is aware that effects cannot excel their causes, and perceives in this lucid and cogent reasoning an application of principles which it sees to be self-evident. The conclusions are gained by legitimate process; given Naturalism, what will follow; and again, what things are there which never can follow? Mr. Balfour reasons like Newton, like St. Thomas, like St. Augustine, by the indirect method, "*ex absurdo*" or "*per impossibile*," various instances of which may be studied in Euclid's geometry, the pattern of strictest demonstration. He is, therefore, well warranted in pursuing his successful campaign, and the marvel is that he should overlook the very principles whereby he wins an undoubted triumph over the forces of Nescience.

Let us dwell for a moment on this battlefield and its issues. Some, who desire above all things fairness in dealing with a declared enemy, have asked whether it is allowable to eliminate in our consideration *ex. gr.* of Professor Huxley's teaching, all that makes for a larger and more tolerable view of existence than Naturalism strictly defined. Are there not, these would say, elements of the transcendental—tokens of a belief in absolute truth, in categorical ethics—left here and there amid the dross-heaps of an empirical system, which we are bound to take into our account? And does Mr. Balfour, while overthrowing that system with victorious energy, reply to the thought, the spirit, animated by which these cried-up exponents of scientific dogmas have won so favourable a hearing?

The answer to such kindly preoccupations must surely be that a philosophical argument keeps in view, not persons, but propositions; that criticism addresses itself to the whole, indeed, of a man's utterances, but may properly select from them governing and predominant principles, admitted on both sides as representing what the teacher would uphold with entire assent. And it is good logic to require that if the teaching be inconsistent, not negatively, but so as to amount to a clear contradiction, one or other part of it shall be surrendered. Mr. Balfour, in his opening section, has done no more than this; and he could do no less. The very point which he sets himself to bring out in clear daylight, is that all who build Naturalism upon Science are falling into contradiction. They cannot stand where they are. A profound discord runs between the beliefs on which society is held together—beliefs that the great men of Naturalism cling to, as members of the body politic in which they thrive—and the social creed suggested by doctrines of evolution from which every trace of Mind, creative or constructive, has been omitted. Why should this momentous fact be kept out of sight? It has an immense scientific value; an incalculable meaning and scope in history. Perhaps there is no duty so pressing as to compel men, even at the cost of pain on their part and ours, to recognise exactly what is the drift of speculations, of lectures, of treatises grave and gay, which propose to substitute for the principles of ethics, for the conduct of life, now accepted on tradition, an account of human origins, a forecast of our destiny, that would reverse our most cherished maxims, and make absurd or quixotic the ideals on which Christendom has looked with reverence during its career of centuries.

The more so that no small number have been captivated by the authority of scientific lights, judged to be infallible, and not thrown into eclipse by offences against the code of morals still reigning amongst us. If they can fulfil the ethical demands, if they seem especially devoted to the service of truth, and yet have broken with Religion, what harm need we suppose will ensue—so runs the argument—when we have all made up our minds to live without God in the world? Look at the illustrious men who believe only in the phenomenal, the finite. Have they no system of ethics? Nay, some are

"altruists" by profession, and hold the Christian cheap who is intent upon saving his own soul, which, after Leigh Hunt, they call "other worldliness." Progress again is their war-cry. Mr. Spencer, the prophet of a material synthesis, never wearies of announcing that Evolution will bring in perfection when its last day is come. Professor Huxley, though indisposed to sketch a future Paradise, rises on exulting wing, and is assuredly no pessimist. George Eliot expressed her astonishment when told that her stories made people sad. Positivism, in its author, Comte, as in his fervid disciples, sings like a troubadour; and, did we let ourselves be persuaded by the airs to which it has set its doctrines, it might be termed "*le gai saber*." By a species of mirage, or day-dream, that to others must seem amazing, the partisans of a scheme in which free-will cannot exist, behold freedom in a future whose creatures shall be simply automata—see in the mortality of man motives for heroic striving, and chant enthusiastically of the good they mean to accomplish—which will last how long? Their feminine poet answers, and deems it glad tidings of great joy:

That better self shall live till human Time
Shall fold its eyelids, and the human sky
Be gathered like a scroll within the tomb
Unread for ever.

Neither its friends nor its enemies should be sorry that an acute, candid, well-read student like Mr. Balfour has done his utmost to show forth the precise bearing of a creed so portentous. If it has consequences which affect life in every department, let us know them as they are. May we still talk of "reverence," or the "absolute nature of Duty," under a dispensation governed, shaped, and directed by the struggle for existence? How can unthinking particles originate the idea of a categorical imperative? how justify it? Again, if appetites are evolved in a certain order during that struggle, why should we call some of them more dignified than others? We do not talk of dignity in a machine, but of convenience. Thus the Moral Law has no claim, in a mindless evolution, to be more than "ingenious"—a contrivance for the benefit of the species, like the ten thousand expedients, some grotesque,

many disgusting or frightful, which have arisen, though not by design, from the interminable contest of atoms, germs, and individualities, all struggling and all blind. Why choose out one of these products, and make it supreme above the universe? Here are mechanical forces which masquerade as motives; have they anything sacred in them? So little, it would appear, that Mr. Spencer in his system of ethics—a point on which the author might have insisted—never but once, and that with manifest incongruity, applies to his pleasure-giving innate calculus, the epithets which betoken true moral worthiness. His law is not holy or righteous; those who subdue it to their needs and requirements neither worship, nor love, nor revere it. And they may well ask on what grounds an instinct or a tendency deserves personal recognition which is just as little free, or self-conscious, as the solar system whereof it is a particular but necessary outcome? Mr. Spencer, indeed, takes large pains to make it evident that matter is quite as good as mind; for, he says, in a most instructive and marvellous chapter, if it be true that mind “glances from heaven to earth, from earth to heaven,” and is, in Aristotle’s phrase, universal, yet do not the particles of ether undulate with incredible velocity and run to the ends of the world? An excellent, a conclusive demonstration if mind be only matter in some degree complicated; and a sure sign that when evolution is fully understood in the empirical sense man will account himself a plexus of atoms and nothing more; his faculties will seek their justification in utilities bounded by the grave; and reverence, holiness, purity, and conscience will be words without a meaning as without a scope.

All this, in language of studied moderation, as clear as it is searching, Mr. Balfour has brought home to an audience, miscellaneous enough, but not likely to forget the lesson they have learnt. Summing it up, he contends that if reason be not the ground of existence, but one expedient among many, we, then, with our faculties of knowledge and religion—our ethics, æsthetics, and scientific curiosity—are a kind of “sport,” and the universe itself despicable. Our delusion of free-will is ludicrous; our morality “a deliberate fraud;” and the higher emotions and sensibilities, the aspirations and ideals on which we argue to man’s especial nobleness among

the animated beings around him, are "in their origin contemptible, in their suggestion mendacious." For what is this ethical Good? "A catalogue of utilitarian precepts," replies the Empiricist. What, again, is the Beautiful? What except "the chance occasion of passing pleasures?" And the True itself, on which science rests, in the pursuit of which it has achieved such mighty deeds, and come to its place of honour? It is, says Naturalism, by the lips of many prophets, "a dim passage from one set of unthinking habits to another;" a break in the unconscious, with nescience before and behind it; an accompaniment, often superfluous, and in any case doomed to extinction, of certain molecular throbbings in a tiny planet, lost amid the world systems, a speck amid infinitudes.

The prologue is excellent; now for the play. Naturalism, which loudly trumpets the defeat of Religion, and dissolves morality into molecules, has, of course, its own ground, upon which it may fairly be examined. Let us endeavour to state the case, now that other systems and principles have been cleared out of our path. Never must it be forgotten that the prime postulate is the absence of Thought, Reason, Intellect, from the beginnings in which all that we know, or can know, has taken its rise. Once man was not. In that day, therefore, Reason was not. But a universe existed; atoms fell into combinations; the great world-machine did not wait to come into being until man opened his eyes, and saw and understood. Such is the doctrine of Naturalism; a finite, or infinite material universe, prior to all thought, enduring through all time. How does Naturalism know these things? By a judgment founded on "experience." And not on any principle which "experience" has not furnished? On none whatever; science is the outcome of an experience that certifies itself. For did not even Hume, the most sceptical of sceptics, bid his disciples confine their studies to mathematics and "experimental reasoning?" This, then, is sure, and all else delusion, sophistry, the "high priori" road that leads no whither.

Admirable, observes Mr. Balfour, if science could dispense with "presuppositions." Did the lynx-eyed Scotsman who bowed so courteously towards it, believe that it could? The categories, for instance, of time and space? Science deals with phenomena in the order of their succession; what is suc-

cession? Is it real or ideal? It is uniform, say a great multitude. How do we prove its uniformity? By experience, they reply. "What," cries the philosopher, "by my miserable experience during a score of years, and that far from uniform if I am to judge of it, I dare to lay down the law for all time and all existence!" Here is an induction, and no mistake! premisses of a moment, conclusions reaching through eternity. By what wonderful alchemy, beyond Paracelsus and Van Helmont, extract from evanescent effects such as these a knowledge of the Cosmos, boundless, objective, and, according to the school of scientific Nescience, in itself unknowable? How, from sensations alone, the whole of experience when mental first principles are left out of account, infer the cause that produced them? But "matter," the Naturalist may say, "is congruous to the rest of our beliefs, hence we affirm it." Not the matter which is all that your science terms objective, Mr. Balfour rejoins, for it is neither coloured nor audible; its secondary qualities depend on eye and ear; why, even, should we suppose that its primary—extension and inertia—are aught but the judgment of the Ego dealing with states of consciousness? The ghost which was laid by experimental reasoning returns. For we have always to ascertain our experience as a fact—which involves the truth and competency of our senses to reach the objective—and to justify it as part of a world subject to law and order; but this can never be accomplished without taking for granted that Nature is uniform. Deny me such principles, and I am at a loss to prove, nay, to suspect on reasonable grounds, the existence of any other than myself in the universe. What I call history, the stored-up accumulations of human energies, the experience of the race, I shall learn to be real, and not a chapter in my own dreaming, only when I admit the principle of causation, but not till then. Let me attempt to demonstrate it from facts of mere sense, and I cannot so much as make a beginning.

Then, it will be objected, the writer overthrows Naturalist pretensions by sapping and mining all our knowledge; he is a universal sceptic on the pattern of Montaigne, and ought to conclude with that imperturbable disbeliever in science, "*Ce sont tous songes et fanatiques folies.*" No, I say, not in this long and decisive argument; elsewhere, if at all, but not here.

The sum total of his reasoning might be given in the weighty words of Aristotle, as the Latin has them, "*Physica, ergo, est sapientia quidem, sed non prima.*" And again, though science which employs the balance and lights the furnace deals directly with the sensible, yet its dealing is intellectual; and without first principles, true but incapable of demonstration, the intellect is for ever dumb. To escape that necessity of admitting intuitive and self-evident axioms—a confession which leads on to the spiritual, the intelligible, and the Divine world, far above sense, and establishing Religion upon thought and reason—the mere Naturalist has taken his stand on sense. But the ground sinks under him. For there is no science of disconnected and incoherent particulars; and our microscopic observations will issue in the large judgments of mechanics, optics, astronomy, chemistry, of biological and nebular evolution, only when the grains of sand which exceed our reckoning are subdued to order and unity by a principle they illustrate, but can never simply prove.

To urge this saving truth upon the men of the laboratory is by no means to declare their science hollow and unreal; with far more justice might we maintain that every one among them who calls in question the self-evidence of his own methods and principles, reducing to sensation that which holds of the intellect, is encouraging a frame of mind which sooner or later must work irreparable harm to that noble spirit of curiosity, and blunt that zeal for investigation, which have raised the Keplers and the Herschells to a godlike eminence. He who defends the autonomy of Reason in its own sphere, is a friend, not to metaphysics alone, but also to physics and the arts of life. And Mr. Balfour, instead of flinging broadcast the seeds of scepticism when he points to the need of major propositions if we wish to secure the minors, is giving to experimental studies a solidity which their proper exponents have not always known how to obtain. In the "science of science" they are seldom initiated. Their great assumption, uniform Nature, has long been—to quote Dr. Ward's scathing but just language—their opprobrium. What is the result? Is it not the eternal see-saw of Realism and Idealism, swinging up and down in empty space, according as science is asked for its credentials, or relies upon its conclusions? Their critic charges men like Professor Huxley and

Mr. Spencer, the "leading philosophic empiricists," with destroying in the name of experience that which claims to be experience reduced to system. Each of these thinkers has recognised the necessity of some independent reality that shall furnish a ground to the "ever-moving stream of sensations—our immediate experience." Each, again, "has rejected the independent reality which is postulated and explained by science." And each "has substituted for it a private reality of his own." Does the physicist assume "actual atoms, and motions, and forces?" Of these John Mill knows nothing as an empiricist; to him reality signifies "permanent possibilities of sensation," which need not be forces, or atoms, or motions, but, as other and more penetrating philosophers have suggested, the effective volitions of disembodied personal agents. Consider, in this light, Mr. Spencer's "unknowable." It is not in space; it possesses neither mass nor extension; it is incapable of motion; it exists beyond time. This, the scientific inquirer will grant, his instruments and registers cannot deal with; for all he knows, it might as well be a chimera in vacuo, an algebraic minus x irreducible to any intelligible terms. Yet, in Mr. Spencer's opinion, it is the only real. Of Professor Huxley's "symbols," representing an unknown, what need to speak? They are openly founded on assumptions; by an act of faith, the grounds of which remain for ever a mystery, Professor Huxley springs up into a universe ready-made, and takes to himself the inheritance which his acute and unwearied predecessors have bequeathed to him. "Wie herrlich weit und breit!" exclaims the poet of Weimar. Yes, but the title-deeds? For, as I have elsewhere been allowed to argue, this brave scheme of things is matter; and the Professor tells me that matter is a property of mind. What, then, is mind? The bewildering answer comes, that it is a property, or result, of matter. In this vicious circle Naturalism turns round, like a blind horse in a mill. It dare not concede that the Mind, by which the world of matter was called into being, disposed in its ranks and orders, guided along the path of development, is anterior to man's own; for, let so much be true, and Theism follows. But if the objective universe came first, and intellect did not shape it, nor was among its causes, then Mind is the chance result of the irrational. On the other hand, Hume and

Kant between them have shown the futility of attempting to discover in this same sensible experience, taken alone, anything but its own contents; and these are not "matter," extended or inert, but sensations. From which it would appear that the existence of a universe independent of our feelings may be, indeed, affirmed by subjective necessity, yet is no more than hypothetical; and, as Mr. Balfour urges with remarkable clearness, is an immense assumption to account for so little as "the sequences familiar to us," in the petty round of our daily life and custom.

We stand, therefore, face to face with these alternatives: Either physical science relies on axioms self-evident, or it is without a rational basis. If it appeals, in this extremity, to faith or instinct, the writer accepts and clenches the proposal. Faith shall be the principle, provided that not science alone, but ethics, æsthetics, and religion are granted an equal privilege. Are all the departments of intellectual research and affirmation subject to the same law? Has our concrete knowledge, whether scientific or theological, need of convictions for which no proof can be tendered; and does it begin with an exercise not of reason but of trust? See, then, as Mr. Spencer would observe, the consequences. We may not, henceforth, erect "science" into a tribunal, infallible, and of the last resort, before which Religion shall be dragged like a culprit, guilty of affirming without warrant, and dogmatising at its ease. Science, too, has dogmatised, nor can help dogmatising. Could we be sure that physicists held a creed to whose canons of proof, themselves not requiring demonstration, all other doctrine must be conformed as to a touchstone, the view now in the ascendant would rightly prevail, and every theological statement, if unsupported by science, we should term doubtful, if inconsistent with science, false. The course of reasoning which we have just gone through proves that we are sure of exactly the opposite. Science, ethics, religion are in the same boat; they must sink or swim together. The difficulties to which we find them liable in common far exceed those which are special to any of them. To reconcile one with another by giving up what is characteristic of each is not a deliverance from its burden, but merely shifting it, whether with certain of the "unco guid" we lay science under a ban, or think, as do

the Rationalist theologians, to make terms with science, and surrender a part of our doctrine, in the vain hope of keeping what is left. For the "ultimate ideas" on which physical inquiries proceed are no less amenable to criticism demanding proofs, than the dogmas in which hitherto religious men have gloried or the irreligious taken occasion to blaspheme. Naturalism and theology, from their very definitions, are irreconcilable; science and religion, when their statements are well seen into, have no quarrel.

So far the court—by which I mean the Catholic and scholastic tradition—is with Mr. Balfour. We delight in his appeal to ultimate ideas; we grant the force of his argumentum ad hominem. And when he resumes the same treatment—which he does in his last section—we go along with him willingly. But we decline to proceed through the Serbonian bog, in which whole armies have been lost, that he has almost wantonly spread between his criticism of the "Naturalist" and his apology for the theologian. Ultimate ideas, we affirm with St. Thomas and his Greek master, shine by their own radiance, are self-evident, indemonstrable, and intuitively certain. We do not take them on trust; nor is "faith" an appropriate name for the faculty or treasure of first principles—"habitus principiorum"—that yields to us "the master-light of all our seeing." Neither, again, is our knowledge of them simply abstract, as though we lived in a world of pure mathematics where all indeed was true, nothing was concrete. *How* we recognise them in particulars, by what process we apply them to the phenomena of sense, to the inward life of consciousness, may be an abstruse, perhaps an insoluble problem. Furthermore, to know and apply them we need not deliberately advert to them; or else genius creating its immortal and most profoundly rational works of Art, must deny itself the power of evoking a Hamlet or a Ninth Symphony, until it can explain how the miracle is done. But intellectual certitudes, though not analysed into their grounds, nor countersigned by reflexion upon them, persuade us not as an instinct urging to action, but as principles known to be true. Inasmuch as they are never demonstrable, they have this negative quality in common with "trust" or "faith." The difference, however, is manifest. Faith relies on the statement of another intellect. Necessary intuitive truths are statements which the intellect

makes to itself. Again, they cannot be assimilated to instinct, for instinct has no light, lays down no affirmations, is, at the most, expectant not apodictic, nor combines the terms of a proposition, seen to be true of one another, into the same sentence. But, of course, there are classes of certitudes, according to the subject-matter which they affect; and physical certitude is one thing, metaphysical, whether direct or reflex, another.

Had Mr. Balfour given us a dissertation on these well-known doctrines, before engaging in his Serbonian bog, he might have saved himself and his readers a world of trouble. It is impossible, at this stage in the journey, not to remark that, while his method in general takes us within sight of a famous and subtle guide through the mazes of concrete reasoning,—everyone will have already named in his own mind Cardinal Newman,—the younger student is at once more involved in explanation and far less satisfactory in treatment. The “Grammar of Assent” has for its object to reconcile in a philosophical view what may seem to be the anomalies and want of logic that cling to our reasoning about facts. It takes a distinct and novel course, not much regarding the traditional methods, and fully allowing the margin or gulf between premisses and conclusion which has provoked so many into Idealism. But whereas Mr. Balfour does not shrink from telling us,—and this, undoubtedly, is the heart of Montaigne’s teaching,—that “Certitude is found to be the child, not of Reason, but of Custom,” the Catholic writer distinguishes and defines (as in so delicate and difficult an investigation will ever be a duty), and will on no account let the doctrine pass that we “trust our faculties,” or that certitudes which are not reflex should be considered blind, or that the man who is no philosopher goes by mere custom when he affirms or denies. It is not custom, but a genuine intellectual power, as true a “*habitus principiorum*” as the syllogizing faculty itself, to which Newman bids us recur for the justification of knowledge in the concrete. “His illative sense” is neither faith nor merely an instinct; it has not only a range but a sanction; it apprehends, compares, judges with precisely as clear a jurisdiction, and on motives that are as undoubtedly “reasons,” as the abstract intellect that lays down principles of universal relevance, and affirms because it perceives their truth. Such a distinct

power may, to the scholastic mind, appear superfluous, but only because in its Aristotelian system it finds, or thinks that it finds, a faculty of concrete knowledge already provided.

We do not need to pursue this domestic controversy further. But we do need to insist, with the greatest possible emphasis, that while Cardinal Newman sets up a distinct power of the intellect to attain his purpose, and will not hear of "faith" as the foundation on which to build, the present volume turns from intellect to habit or emotion, and can discover no rational necessity for holding that there is a single existence, material or spiritual, outside the writer's own Ego. The Cardinal has, in any alternative, enriched our nature with true mental faculties; the sceptical metaphysician who leaps to the concrete by an act of faith, runs no small risk of analysing all our certitudes into assumptions without a basis. What is he, then, but an empiricist, at one with his opponents in their method, although dissenting from their inferences? They prefer matter; he is enamoured of spirit. To them religion seems a non-rational hypothesis; to him it is the same, but commended by its ethical advantages. They love the world that now is; he looks forward to the world to come. Both worlds, however, seek in vain for the rational certitude on which we might affirm either; and custom, that makes of some agnostics and of others church-going Christians, is the last word in the system. Who but will allow, with the great French essayist to whom we have likened Mr. Balfour, that here is "a final trick of fence," and "an extreme remedy?" "*C'est un coup desespéré,*" says Montaigne with his usual frankness, "*auquel il faut abandonner vos armes, pour faire perdre à vostre adversaire les siennes.*" But universal doubt rather than religious dogma will gain by the stroke that smites Reason to the ground. And though we anathematize Rationalism, it is neither necessary nor expedient to give up the just claims of a Natural Theology, the rudiments of which may be discerned, not only in the Book of Wisdom, but in the Hebrew Psalms and the Prophets whose authority Mr. Balfour will not question.

"A scheme of great historic importance,"—such is the account given us of the distinction between Natural and Revealed Theology, by means of which "Evidences" have been proposed to men of science and the lay intellect, without calling

in faith. Yes, certainly historic; older by many centuries than Paley; a manner of reasoning which goes back to the first Christian apologists, to Minutius Felix, Tertullian, Clement of Alexandria, and which has never ceased out of use in our tradition. We cannot, except we would stultify and desert the teachers whom we most dearly venerate, surrender the doctrine, now established on the authority of an Ecumenical Council in a set decree, that Reason,—not the assumption of faith, but reason as distinct from faith and independent of it,—is capable of proving “from the things that are made,” the existence, the power, and the glory of their Creator. Is this to “run modern science and theology into a single coherent and self-sufficient system of thought?” And does it take from science “all the premisses on which theological conclusions are afterwards based?” If so, Mr. Balfour sets it aside as inadequate; nay more, he condemns it as in practice, and (unless I mistake him), at last in theory, identical with the Naturalism whose premisses, methods, and conclusions he declares that it has borrowed. The inference now is, therefore, to Authority in the proper sense of the word. Reason is impotent, or else it yields us up, bound hand and foot, into the tyranny of that sceptical Empiricism which can neither perceive nor explain the meaning of Truth, Beauty, Goodness. A serious allegation, not to be passed over without challenge!

Some embarrassment, however, arises from the loose indefinite fashion in which terms needing careful discrimination are handled. I understand what is meant by Naturalism; it is the development of all things known to us from elements in which there was no Mind, and under the action of mindless forces. But what is Rationalism? In the Catholic schools we take it to signify the attempt to prove by reason dogmas of the Faith which are above and beyond reason, such as the Trinity, the Incarnation, the Real Presence. We never should allow that the exercise of reason whereby philosophers and the multitude have, in their several methods, made clear to themselves the existence of God, His Providence, and the life to come, was that excess and perversion of reasoning to which the name of Rationalism ought alone to be given. Put the “Christian Evidences” on one side for a moment. They do not stand on the same level with arguments which propose to

conclude to the great leading truths of Natural Religion; for, what is called the "*Demonstratio Evangelica*" does but make the fact of Revelation "*credible*," whereas the process of reasoning which we employ in showing that there is a Personal God, our Creator, Ruler, and Supreme Judge, aims at nothing less than certitude. None of our apologists have shrunk from adopting the strong language of Cicero when he stakes his argument not on faith but on sight, "*Quid potest esse tam apertum tamque perspicuum*," says the philosophic heathen, "*cum cælum suspeximus cœlestiaque contemplati sumus, quam esse aliquod Numen præstantissimæ mentis, quo hæc reguntur?*" To the same effect St. Augustine, "*Deus ubique secretus est, ubique publicus; quem nulli licet, ut est, cognoscere, et quem nemo permittitur ignorare.*" And the whole doctrine has been forcibly expressed in the epigram of Tertullian which is a commonplace in our schools, "*Hæc est summa delicti nolentium recognoscere quem ignorare non possunt.*" Atheism, even where the Christian authority never has prevailed, is a sin against Reason and without excuse.

Strange to say, Mr. Balfour himself admits that such reasoning,—not to the exclusion even of some argument from design,—is "*valid as far as it goes.*" Why, then, does he, almost in the same breath, cast it out on the score of Naturalism? I think because he has not kept clear definitions before him; and again, because of his rooted and invincible distrust in Reason when it makes use of positive or real premisses in order to establish Theism directly. His sceptical bent, combined with his religious affections, will just enable him to admit or to lean upon the method "*per impossibile*" which, if it leaves the mysteries of creation where it found them, is, at least, never arrogant, points out the shortest way to a conclusion, and has in view, not the gratification of our speculative inquiries, but practice and virtue. It should, however, be patent to the considering mind that arguments, whether direct or indirect, from principles self-evident or conclusions "*ex absurdo*," address themselves all alike to the reason,—and that individual,—not to prejudice, emotion, use and wont, or feeling and interest. The whole course of proceeding is from truth to truth; the motives brought forward appear as reasons to the intellect. And their force is such that whosoever

does not reject the principle of causation,—we mean, not the supposed law of inviolable succession, but the axiom, “No change without an adequate cause, no beginning without a sufficient reason,”—or refrains from sophisticating the principle of contradiction, cannot rightly understand the terms of the premisses and refuse his assent to the conclusion grounded upon them.

Surely this manner of arguing belongs to metaphysics, even while it borrows the facts which experience has furnished, or which science in its own degree verifies, and from them, as minor propositions in a rational syllogism, under the light of first principles, goes on to infer that the universe was called into being by creative Thought and Will. If the “real premisses” of such a creed,—which are existence and causation, order in the effects, and the intrinsic necessity of a co-ordinating Mind to produce that order,—do not “lie deep in the nature of things,” what, I ask, does? “Moral intuition, mystical ecstasy?” These too, by all means; but reason likewise. Mr. Balfour speaks in a vague but disparaging way of “our ordinary method of interpreting sense-experience.” Let us be precise, then. The perception of order, the conclusion to purpose, the law which is discernible in particulars, these do not require that we should know by reflective analysis what is the intimate nature of space, time, motion, but only that they exist as undeniable facts. If we apprehend a world distinct from ourselves,—which beyond question we do,—in that world order and succession, causes and effects, collocations resulting in harmonious issues of life and energy, are thereby given. From these we argue; not from a philosophic theory of atoms, or the dynamic speculations of Boscovich, or Lord Kelvin’s smoke-rings. Of all such ingenious theorizings it may be said with reverence, “As a vesture shalt Thou change them, and they shall be changed; but Thou art the self-same, and Thy years shall not fail.” By common experience we know the world as real, and by arguments which spring out of the very essence of our reasoning faculty, we infer the existence, and, in a measure sufficient for the moral governance of conduct, we learn the attributes of its glorious Maker.

“Why, then,” objects the critic of Natural Theology, “if these syllogisms are convincing, do they not convince?” Why,

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let me add, has Cardinal Newman—who twice in explicit terms repeats the argument from purpose—affirmed deliberately that “no religion yet has been a religion of physics or philosophy,” and “that it has ever been synonymous with Revelation?” Why does he call it “a message, a history, or a vision,” not “a deduction from what we know” but “an assertion of what we are to believe”? It is rational, if to submit ourselves to authority be such; is it not, therefore, “non-rational,” so far as it goes beyond, or simply never takes into its premisses, the grounds of Natural Theology upon which we have so confidently enlarged?

An illustration from mechanics may fitly serve to introduce our traditional method of answering these questions, more complex—shall I say?—than in themselves difficult. The mechanician who should calculate and contrive his forces to produce a given result without taking account of friction and the resistance of the air, would soon discover that his reckonings, however theoretically perfect, were inexact by omission. Yet the resistance of the air is something external to a machine as such, and friction is an accident, though inseparable from forces in action. The parallel is surely obvious. Man reasons, but he also feels: he can apprehend the truth of a syllogism provided his emotions, or his bias, do not interpose between the meaning of the terms and the mind which ought to make that meaning its own. Passion distorts, interest refracts, prejudice may shut out the light altogether. But still, the light is its proper evidence, and eyes were made to see, although they be kept obstinately closed. Moreover, as Cardinal Newman so admirably says, “Life is not long enough for a religion of inferences”; yet our preoccupations, anxieties, and sensual obstructions need not make those inferences of none effect. They convince in the case where men attend to them, so far as they are simple and elementary. The average mind is never atheistical; it is rarely agnostic; but a long argument takes time, and sophistries may be hard to unravel, and properly to state, even to oneself, the reasons which are most persuasive and irresistible, demands a training which the many do not possess. Last of all, though every syllogism looked at separately may be true both in matter and form, yet the body of doctrine to which they all contribute, and in

which their practical efficiency must be sought, has come down to us by tradition, is recommended by authority, and, except in the rarest instances, would more than task the powers of the mind which attempted, by solitary effort, to build it up on system.

Every word which we have just set down, as applicable to religion in the concrete, is true of mathematics; can it be lawful then, either to reject Newton's astronomy, or to say, that since the millions take it on trust, it is not capable of demonstration? But Natural Theology has this advantage over the "*Principia*," that its great creative axioms, and its most fruitful syllogisms, are within reach of any intellect which can reason from effects to their cause. Hence, while the multitude give assent to the dogmas laid down by authority concerning the existence and attributes of the All-Father, they have a witness in their own minds testifying to the reasonableness of what is taught them. For the ingenious Naturalist may, with Heraclitus, set forth in a rainbow web of sophistries the identity of being and not-being; he may veil from his own vision the juggling by which, given extended particles, and no more, an ordered universe shall arise, with Reason as one of its multifarious products; but the mind, left to itself, recoils from such fever-dreams. It is never among the people at large that a system so contradictory of first principles takes root or flourishes. Theism will always furnish the immediate and spontaneous conclusion to which the human intellect moves. It is in accordance with Reason affirming its own certitudes; and the paralogsms by which it is assailed are an after-thought. "*Veritatis ipsius tanta vis est,*" we may surely repeat with Lactantius, "*ut nemo possit esse tam cæcus, qui non videat ingerentem se oculis divinam claritatem.*"

Such is the force of unadulterated Reason, to which, also, every line of sound argument in the pages before us bears witness. When empiricists offer as the substance of our knowledge and the ground of experience, causes which being material are blind, or having in them no principle of direction must work at haphazard, or not possessing intellect can never produce it, the light within us shows their inadequacy, pierces through the seemingly non-rational to the only existence that can guide and control it to the results which our eyes and

mind certify, nor stays its progress until for the laws and ideals of right conduct it discovers a moral Deity, for the growth and development of mankind towards artistic perfection a Divine Exemplar, and for the course of history which has brought us on our way a Providence whose name is Love. The fact of evolution, admitted on all hands, points to lines of tendency which have been favoured, to others which in the struggle have not won but lost. From the beginning, then, we know that the scale was weighted on the side of Mind, Virtue, and the Ideal; it is the scale of Unreason that kicks the beam. Have we not thus found ready to our hands an "antecedent probability" of the most splendid sort, proofs accumulating on proofs that if Reason be the will of God it must prevail, and that in the immeasurable world-movement, it has been His will from the first days of creation? Nor is the universe, thus transfigured in the light of intellect, any more a godless machine, grinding on for ever without intent or purpose, the "gloomy Golgotha and Mill of Death" which it could not fail to be, were Naturalism true and not rather the sum of all possible falsehood. There never was, there can never be, a system of powers, terms, or activities, from which the Divine Wisdom could absent itself, or a "State of Nature" the innermost core of which was not Providence "fortiter suaviterque disponens omnia." Not that the presence in man's Reason of the light from Heaven degrades his thoughts to instincts, takes out of self-evident premisses their visible certitude, or need be, strictly speaking, supernatural. It is part of the essence, it follows upon the definition of man as a reasonable creature, that the First and Highest Reason should bear him up in the actions congruous to his very being.

Yet, when we have realised this great and simple truth, we are prepared in the view of our moral failings, of the judgments of conscience, the perplexities which entangle our steps through life, and the need of reconciliation with Him whom we know that we have offended, and who cannot be far from us, to look round with as much hope as trembling, to search into history, and to ask whether He is anywhere visible so that we may turn to Him. As we are free to break the law, despite the uniformities of which science keeps record, so is the Master of the Universe free to manifest both His judgments and His

mercy. Why should He not be free? Are these uniformities sovereign powers, distinct and rival, whose ordinances He, though their Creator, cannot choose but respect? or are they not, rather, modes of the Divine activity shadowed forth in phenomena? The miracles which may thus be interpolated, without violation of any principle of metaphysics, in the course of the world, are so far from being irrational or absurd in themselves that the moral order may well demand them, supposing it please the All-Holy to seal them as credentials upon His message.

The pre-supposition which, when we have arrived at this height, governs our concrete reasoning, is, Mr. Balfour would say, ethical—the need of atonement or reconciliation. Yes, undoubtedly; but we shall take the widest sweep of so grand an horizon if our language becomes more comprehensive still, and we affirm the need of a divine life in man, of a spiritual inner world, the poles of which are faith and charity. For the direct arguments by which we have proved that an Objective Reason exists yield us, at the same time, an inference whereby we know that Reason is moving by choice to its determined ends, and therefore no *Anima Mundi*, unconscious and bound fast in fate, but a self-subsisting Person. To Him we owe much more than recognition; we must worship and obey Him; we cannot choose but desire to hold communion with Him; our life has its secret chambers in which He makes Himself manifest. The intellect which proves Him, the heart which yearns after Him, are faculties of one undivided being that lives “by admiration, hope, and love,” that can never rest in the finite or the phenomenal, and is a mystic by its affections, a citizen of another world than the sensible. To such a mingled nature, earth at once and fire, spirit and flesh, but ascending by some innate law towards the realm where all things are spiritual, Christianity brings its tidings. It holds out the promise of forgiveness; it reveals a pattern of perfection, not merely imagined but incarnate in the Object whom it declares. And it makes Him the beginning of a new and heavenly existence in all who are willing to receive of His spirit. How could miracle or prophecy be omitted from this unearthly scheme? What is the hindrance to either that phenomenal uniformities, never fully observed, and certain

only upon a given hypothesis, can suggest? The presence of God in history which reason insists upon is a fact. That He should reveal Himself more openly, and give sure tokens of the word He is uttering, will always be credible, if He has not become to us an empty name.

These considerations, while they leave room for such details of evidence as the method of Paley would supply, have a power in them (at least for all who believe that there is a divine life and who thirst to partake of it) not unlike that whereby the light of day makes the sun known to us in heaven. We need not exclaim, "Lo, here! and lo, there!" for it shines all round us. The Christian religion, thus contemplated as an objective living system, becomes its own evidence and proof. Historical investigation will be for those who have the leisure and the ability to pursue it, necessary by way of discomfiting unbelievers when they attempt to cast discredit on the written testimony, but in itself of the nature of reflex or critical science, not entering into the substance of faith, or incumbent on the faithful. Yet here again they have a witness, "the sure prophetic word" as it lives and energises within them, and they know in whom they have believed. Their experience is a warrant, individual and intimate, not enabling them to hold arguments with those outside, but dispensing them from the duty of argument. And thus, in Revelation as in the truths of Natural Religion, authority is seen to be no mechanical force pressing on the soul, but a response to its affirmations, a security against dangers, and the multiplied and resounding echo from an actual world of the still small voice which speaks to us in conscience.

Therefore authority, as we may go on to say, adapting certain words of Cardinal Newman, though in such a vast number of cases well founded and reasonable, need not be established upon "investigation, argument or proof; these processes being but the explicit form which the reasoning takes in particular minds," and by no means in all.

For all men possess a treasure of first truths, in virtue of which they come to know whatsoever they do know, says St. Thomas, "*Habitus primorum principiorum, tam speculabilium quam practicorum, qui nulla oblivione vel deceptione corrumpi possunt.*" Thus we may reverence authority, not only

accepting it because we must (which is to imitate the lower creatures ruled by their appetites and instincts), but satisfied when we follow its guidance that reason bids us do so. By whatever way this conclusion be reached, it ceases to be a prejudice or an otiose custom, in proportion as the veracity and the competence of our guide is ascertained. "In januis domorum quis delinquet?" asks the proverb. And St. Thomas explains, applying it to the common sense on which men build their life as on a foundation, "Nam ea per quæ intratur in cognitionem aliorum nota sunt omnibus, et nullus circa ea decipitur." By such evident principles it is that men and women, though neither educated nor philosophical, transform the instinctive need of submission to authority, into a conviction which is reasonable, if not explicitly reasoned out, and which must be termed intellectual despite the absence of conscious logic during its formation.

If the volume which we have been studying could allow of this rational analysis whereby the intellect is shown to be something more than a faculty of drawing inference in mood and figure, its argument would escape the charge, now plausibly brought against it, of scepticism, and we should not feel as we read that Montaigne has said all these things before, with infinite vivacity and eloquence, but to the praise of a dissolving and pernicious doubt, rather than the gain of Christianity. True it is that science, attempting to found itself on the particulars of sense without the principles of reason is utterly delusive. True that Naturalism proceeds by gross and palpable assumptions of which it can never render an account. True, likewise, that authority is the guide of life, beneficent, indispensable, an instrument of progress in art, knowledge, conduct, civilisation. True that to look upon it as a disease of ignorance, a usurpation upon intellect, or a tyranny to be overthrown, is not to grasp the meaning of history or lay the lessons which experience so abundantly yields to heart. True that the atomic theory of the "rights of reason" now widely accepted, which commands every man, woman and child to prove all things by formal logic, discarding presuppositions, and starting with a *tabula rasa* void of first principles would be insane if it could be acted upon, and is mischievous in proportion as individuals put their faith in it. True, finally, that

the needs of the spirit, ethical and eternal, cry aloud for a system like the Christian Religion, not attenuated into evidences of a long past transaction in remote Palestine, or losing itself amid documentary investigations and the minutiae of criticism, but living, present, effective, the antidote which shall keep man from despising his noblest aspirations since the universe has grown so great and tells him that he is so little. All this we deem true and reasonable. But the foundation on which our apologist thinks he has reared it is not true and will never stand.

It is not, we say with the Catholic tradition—a great and sufficient authority—not true that reason appeals in the last resort to instinct, and goes merely by custom. Not true that natural theology may be analysed into Naturalism, or rests on the same basis of mere phenomena. Not true that Reason following its own process in the individual, without relying upon faith, or calling in trust, or making assumptions on pure hypothesis, finds everywhere around it the prison walls of Fichteism, and is the sole creator, the universal and lonely tenant, of a world which has no reality save the Ego. Not true that we regulate our beliefs by “non-rational impulse,” or that authority destitute of grounds which we apprehend even when we fail to dissect or explain them, supplies to Reason “its most important premisses.” Not true that a “logical nexus” between the things which we hold and the antecedents in the mind on which we hold them, is the sole “intellectual” nexus, or requisite unless “judgments in the sphere of ethics or theology” are to be traced back, in the manner of sense-perceptions, to “non-rational causes.” Not true that our religious convictions are simply instances of biological needs fulfilled, but not of intellect satisfied. Not true that our alternative lies ever between a pious or an incredulous scepticism. And least of all is it true, or can it be allowed by the Christian apologist who will be faithful to his greatest teachers, that the Reason which demonstrates a Personal Living God, just, benevolent, merciful, yet by no means clearing the guilty, a Providence which rewards and punishes in view of Eternal Righteousness, is founded on an act of “trust,” or needs the authority of a church in order to be valid, or is beyond the average power of the human mind, or is an instinct destitute of rational insight.

WILLIAM BARRY.

Science Notices.

The Recent Frost.—At the April meeting of the Royal Meteorological Society, Messrs. F. C. Bayard and W. Marriott communicated some facts of interest concerning the prolonged frost of January and February over the British Isles. This frost has not been equalled in severity since 1814.

The cold period commenced on December 30th, and terminated on March 5th. It was broken by a week's mild weather from January 14th to 21st, otherwise the frost would have lasted continuously for sixty-six days. Between January 8th and 13th temperatures below 10° Fahrenheit, and in some cases below zero, were recorded in parts of England and Scotland. From the 26th to 31st, and from February 8th to 10th the lowest temperatures recorded were—17° at Braemar, and 11° at Buxton and Drumlanrig. The mean temperature of the British Isles for January was about 7°, and for February from 11° to 14° below the average; the mean temperature for the period from January 26th to February 19th was from 14° to 20° below the average. The distribution of atmospheric pressure was almost entirely the reverse of the normal, the barometer being highest in the north and lowest in the south. This accounted for the persistence of strong northerly and easterly winds. During the period rivers and lakes were frozen, the ice being over ten inches thick.

One of the principal public inconveniences caused by the spell of frost was the deprivation of water in the houses all over the country. In some cases householders were without water for over nine weeks. Mains were frozen which were laid as low as 3 ft. 6 in. from the surface of the ground to the top of the pipe. It seems, however, that the nature of the soil was much responsible for the depth to which the frost penetrated.

The effect of the intense cold was disastrous upon the public health, both directly and indirectly through the influenza epidemic, which was fanned into unprecedented severity by the prolonged low temperatures.

Helium.—It seems likely that in the discovery of argon are the foundations for a new and brilliant epoch of scientific investigation.

It has already stimulated the terrestrial discovery of the gas called helium, which Mr. Norman Lockyer observed in the sun's chromosphere in 1868.

Professor William Ramsay has obtained the gas by boiling cleveite, a uranate of lead containing rare earths with dilute sulphuric acid. He filled several vacuum tubes with the gas, and on spectroscopic examination found that argon is present with the helium. On comparing the spectra of an argon-tube with one containing the new gas, he found that while the hydrogen and argon lines in both tubes accurately coincided, a brilliant line in the yellow in the cleveite gas was nearly but not quite coincident with the sodium line D of the argon-tube. Mr. Crookes has measured the wave length of "this remarkably brilliant yellow line." It is 587.49 millionths of a millimetre, and is exactly coincident with the line D³ in the solar atmosphere attributed to helium.

When a strong electric current is passed through a Plucker's tube charged with argon the light emitted is of a strong crimson colour; under the same conditions the light from the helium tube is a brilliant golden yellow. Under a feeble current the argon-tube gives a blue-violet light, the helium tube a steely blue, and then the yellow line is barely visible in the spectroscope. To quote the exact words of Professor Ramsay's recent communication to the Royal Society, "It appears to require a high temperature therefore to cause it to appear with full brilliancy, and it may be supposed to be part of the high-temperature spectrum of helium."

Electric Heating and Cooking.—It is to Mr. R. E. Crompton that the public are indebted for the neat, efficient, and fairly economical contrivances for heating and cooking by electricity.

In 1878 Mr. Lane Fox pointed out that electric cooking could be accomplished by placing the food in a vessel surrounded by a coil of insulated wire, through which an electric current should be passed, but it was only four years ago that his ideas were in any way developed. It was then that Carpenter took out a patent in America for manufacturing electrical heating apparatus, by attaching the resistance wires to the surface of cast-iron plates by an enamelling process. He manufactured a large quantity of culinary apparatus, some of which was exhibited by Messrs. Crompton at the Crystal Palace Exhibition in 1891. Though the apparatus showed the practicability of electric heating, owing to certain defects it was not adapted for long use; for instance, the enamel was found to

crack, and the surface of the wire used was thus exposed to the destructive process of oxidation.

In endeavouring to obviate these difficulties Mr. Crompton has spent a considerable time in looking for a metal which would stand the frequent heatings and coolings to which the apparatus is subject, and which would have a co-efficient of linear expansion nearly the same as that of the enamel used and of the plates to which the wire is attached by these enamels. His experiments resulted in the selection of nickel steel wire; he also replaced the homogeneous enamel used by Carpenter by a composite one consisting of two or more layers, the lower one being of the hardest and most refractory character. The ground work enamel consists almost entirely of silica. This fuses at a very high temperature, being nearly that of the welding point of wrought iron. The nickel wire is applied in the form of a waved or crimped ribbon, the crimping being carried out by a special machine. The crimped ribbon is applied to the surface of the first coat of enamel by means of a "transfer plate." This consists of a metal plate, at the back of which is attached a number of electro-magnets. When the crimped wire has been laid on the plate in any desired pattern or form, the magnets are excited and the wire is held by them firmly in position on the surface of the plate. When it is desired to transfer the wire from the transfer plate to the heated surface of the enamel, the current is withdrawn from the magnets and the wire released.

The first enamel and the wire is then covered up with powdered enamel of a more easily fusible nature than the other, and the temperature of the whole is raised to a degree sufficient to enable the second enamel to melt down and incorporate itself with the upper surface of the first coat of enamel, at the same time completely covering and insulating the wires. The results of this process have proved thoroughly successful, the wire can be heated to any degree required without danger of the enamel cracking. The simplest form of apparatus in which a plate is heated by a current passing through a wire enamelled to its surface is that which is called a heater. It is a circular plate mounted on short legs, to the underside of which wire is applied and fixed by the enamel. The upper side is ground flat and polished. Such a heater is useful in many ways. It can be used as a radiator or as a convenient means of heating dishes, for drying linen, or for warming and drying any article which it may be dangerous to put near a fire. It can be used also for cooking if the food is placed in pans or flat dishes, but it is not advisable to cook in this manner by separate heaters, for there is always a loss from the lower surfaces of the pans

not making sufficiently good contact with the upper surface of the heater. It is wiser to ensure this good contact by making the heating plate form part of the kettle, saucepan, frying-pan, or other utensil.

For measuring the temperatures obtained Mr. Crompton discards the ordinary mercurial thermometer as it is not a reliable means of indicating the temperature of the heated surface, for it really shows the temperature of a stratum of air near the surface instead of that of the surface itself. The instrument adopted was the platinum thermometer invented by Mr. Compton; this measures the temperature by showing the increase in resistance due to the rise in temperature of a delicate coil and platinum spiral placed in close contact with the heated surface. With such an instrument it is possible to take accurate readings, practically simultaneously of the temperature in various parts of an electric oven or other apparatus, and even of various parts of a joint of meat. It is said that in this way a great many interesting facts concerning the cooling of meat have come to light.

It is satisfactory for the public to learn that those who are already supplied with the electric current for lighting their houses, can apply its powers to their kitchen, and even to the warming of their rooms at a cost not so prohibitive as has been prophesied would be the case.

The economical advantages of electric boiling and cooking consist in the direct application of the heat to the water or food at any moment by the simple process of turning a switch, without waste of energy, as is the case in cooking by fires or gas. The percentage of the heat units of the coal burnt in kitchen grates is very small, being something like 2 per cent. This waste is due to the fact that with the exceptions of boiling or stewing, the operations of the cook depend on the radiation of heat instead of conduction. As Mr. Crompton points out, to obtain a radiation fit for grilling a chop, a quantity of coal or coke has to be consumed before a clear grilling fire is obtained, and after the fire is in order some 80 per cent. of the energy goes up the chimney and 16 per cent. is radiated into the room; so it is not difficult to understand why the chop itself does not receive more than 2 per cent. of the total heat units. In the case of an electric griller, however, fully 70 per cent. of the heat energy of the electricity is utilised in the meat.

In cooking by gas the comparison comes out favourable to electricity; for even though in gas cooking the requisite heat can be obtained at the moment required, yet it is imparted to the food by radiation from gas flames, so that it is necessary for a current of air

to continually pass through the oven to secure ventilation and carry off the products of combustion. This ventilating current also carries away something like 80 per cent of the heat units obtained by burning the gas.

The electric oven consists of a rectangular box having double sides at bottom, top, back and front. The inner surfaces of the inner plate form the electric radiators, and the space between them and the outer plates is filled up with a non-conducting material. As the chamber is air-tight no ventilating current of air is necessary, and thus there is no waste of heat. When the oven is filled with food over 50 per cent. of heat energy can be utilised, and though possibly only 5 to 6 per cent. of the heat energy of the fuel is present in the electric energy, 90 per cent. of this or $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. of the whole energy goes into the food.

Mr. Crompton claims many advantages for cooking by electricity. The electric kitchen may be as "cool as a dairy," and the cook escapes the continual hardships of being semi-roasted so proverbially trying to the temper of that class of domestics. In the case of the gas oven, the ventilating currents of air dry up, harden, and diminish the flavour of the meat. In the case of electric cooking the stillness of the oven owing to the absence of ventilating currents prevents the drying and hardening action, and the meat comes out tender and juicy right up to the extreme outer surface. Another advantage claimed is the facility for regulating the temperature to any degree of nicety. The electric oven requires no experience to use it successfully, in which point it differs from the ordinary oven, which cannot be properly managed without considerable practice. Mr. Crompton has recently made public the following figures showing the actual cost of the heating of surfaces required for roasting, baking, or frying, for heating surfaces to a lower temperature, such as for warming rooms or airing linen, also for boiling water. To raise a heater plate from 50° Fahr. to 400° Fahr. in half an hour the energy required in B. O. T. units is 0.404, the cost at 4d. per unit is 1.61d. To raise a radiator plate from 50° to 250° in half an hour the energy required is 0.277, the cost 1s. 1d. To boil a pound of water in a tea-table kettle in eighteen minutes, the energy required is 0.075 the 0.32d. To boil $\frac{3}{4}$ lb. of water the energy required is 0.051, the cost 0.2d. We can therefore with an electric kettle have a cup of tea at a cost of less than a farthing for a single cup or half a farthing per single cup if several are required.

The advantages of electric radiators have been already appreciated by the management of several theatres. At the Vaudeville Theatre several were used to heat the auditorium last winter, and by their

means the temperature of the theatre was kept fairly constant. The radiators are fixed round the skirting, on either side of the auditorium, and in front of the orchestra. These radiators are of box form, that is they have a front radiation surface studded with projections, fixed in a cast-iron case, which is screwed by means of lugs and insulators to the walls and partition. Each box radiator is 2 ft. long and 1 ft. wide, giving a radiation surface of 2 square feet. The air circulates between the casing and the wall, so that an extra heating surface is available. Besides these fixed radiators, portable ones are used to heat different parts of the theatre before the performance. It is estimated that to warm the theatre for a period of four hours, the cost is 12s. It is probable that a hot-water system would cost as much, while the electric system has the advantage of greater safety from fire.

These recent developments in electric heating mark a new era in electrical developments, and would seem to predict that the existence of an ideal smokeless city is not so very distant. It will probably be realised in the model city at Niagara.

Reflecting and Refracting Telescopes.—Sir Howard Grubb, in his paper recently published in the proceedings of the Royal Institution, discusses the question whether the future increase in the powers of telescopes will be accomplished by refractors or reflectors.

Mr. Alvern Clark, who is famed for his large refractors in the United States, prophesies the triumph of that form of telescope he has so largely developed, but there are many astronomers of an opposite opinion who look to the reflector. Sir Howard Grubb is himself in favour of the reflector, which he thinks capable of great improvement if sufficient attention is directed to it.

He says there is one reason which has been overlooked, but which explains to some extent why the reflector has not been so much developed of late years as has the refractor. It is of a purely economic character. Reflectors are not so costly as refractors, and though it may seem a contradiction to ascribe their neglect to this cause it is easily accounted for. An object glass of 18 inches is worth some £1000, but a mirror of the same size is only worth some £100. To mount the £1000 object glass would cost say £1000; to mount the £100 mirror quite as much would have to be expended, if not more, since there are greater difficulties in mounting a reflector

than a refractor. It is natural that telescope-makers should hesitate in expending a large sum upon what has cost comparatively little.

The difficulties in the mounting of reflectors, especially when required for photographic work, has never yet been satisfactorily solved. About a year ago Dr. Johnstone Stracy introduced an improvement in an ingenious arrangement for supporting the great mirrors of reflectors on an air support, graduating the pressure according to the angle of inclination of the telescope by an automatic contrivance. The value of reflectors has been conclusively shown in the results obtained by the excellent work of Draper, De la Rue, Common and Roberts, but all observers have not the patience to devote equal care on the working of the instrument, and the difficulties in working the reflectors certainly tend to distract the observer's attention from the object in view.

Sir Howard Grubb thinks the fact that the reflector brings all rays of light to a common focus, irrespective of their wave lengths, while the refractor is at best only a compromise, is a very strong argument in favour of the ultimate adoption of reflectors. It is true that experiments have been carried on for some time at the Jena glass manufactory, which may result in producing qualities of glass that will put the refractor on an equality with the reflector in this respect. Such a glass, enabling the telescope to perfectly balance the chromatic error, should at the same time be of a sufficiently permanent character to justify its use in large objectives. Time is the only test of permanence, and even if it were suspected that any specimens of glass had the permanent qualities, no maker of eminence would try the experiment of using it until he knew from experience it had preserved its perfection of surface for twenty or twenty-five years.

The largest optical discs produced are only 40 inches in diameter, but Lord Rosse's reflector of 72 inches diameter is now half a century old. It seems therefore evident that for increased power we must look to the reflector.

With regard to the 8 or 10 feet reflector it is proposed to build for the Paris Exhibition in 1900, Sir Howard Grubb says: "If a monster telescope such as this is to be mounted only in such a manner as will satisfy the ordinary conditions of star-gazing, I fear the results will be disappointing, but let it be mounted in such a manner as to render it useable for the more delicate and refined work of the modern astronomer, and a grand and productive field of work is open to it. But the problem of mounting an enormous instrument such as this, whose weight would probably amount to from 50 to 100 tons, so perfectly poised, and so accurately driven by

clockwork as never to vary from its true position by a quantity greater than the apparent motion of a star in one-twentieth of a second of time, is sufficiently difficult to justify almost a doubt of its possibility."

Flies as Conveyors of Infection.—It has for some time past been suspected by bacteriologists that the ordinary household fly has the very unpleasant habit of carrying about the germs of various diseases. The experiments of Mr. W. T. Burgess have proved that these suspicions were well founded. He put flies in momentary contact with a cultivation of *Bacillus prodigiosus* or some other chromogenic organism, and then let them fly about in a large room for several hours. When caught again they were made to walk over slices of sterile potatoes. After being incubated for some days the potatoes were covered with growths of the organism wherever the flies had walked.

In these experiments harmless microbes were used in case any of the subjects of experiment should escape and be a means of spreading a disease.

It is evident that flies are a continual source of danger, and it is necessary in the interests of health to maintain vigorous means against their intrusion.

Notes of Travel and Exploration.

France in Indo-China.—Mr. Henry Norman in his recent book, "The Peoples and Politics of the Far East" (London: Fisher Unwin, 1895), devotes some chapters to the study of French colonisation, from the point of view of its economic results. After an elaborate analysis of the finances of Tongking, of which the official accounts are so manipulated as to be altogether misleading, he comes to the conclusion that in the period 1883-93, it has cost the country the enormous sum of over 530 million francs, or 21 millions sterling, making a yearly average of more than $1\frac{3}{4}$ millions sterling. He puts this result in a popular form by saying that the colony has cost the French taxpayer £4881 a day, Sundays included, for every day it has been in the possession of his country. He then examines the commercial statistics in order to find out if it makes any return in development of trade for this large expenditure, and calculates that that with the mother country has amounted during ten years to an aggregate of no more than $2\frac{1}{2}$ millions sterling, while that with foreign countries, despite tariff restrictions, has been $7\frac{3}{4}$ millions, so that the protective system as practised there has been a disastrous failure. He sums up the net result as follows:

France has taken possession of a country. She has despatched to it an army of soldiers and a second army of functionaries; a handful of dealers has followed to supply these with the necessaries and luxuries of life; the dealers have purchased these necessaries and luxuries from France (the foreign imports being chiefly for native consumption), as the Customs tariff prevents them from buying cheaper elsewhere; these purchases have practically constituted the trade of France with the colony.

The whole purpose of the colonial administration seems, from the author's description, to be the annihilation of every form of industrial enterprise, not only on the part of foreigners, but on that of the French colonists, between whom and their own government there always exists, as Prince Henri d'Orleans points out, a latent or overt antagonism. As a natural consequence, the proportion of official to unofficial population is very large, amounting to 1200 out of a total of 1600 Frenchmen, while salaries amount to £360,000, as compared with an expenditure of £16,000 on public works.

Protected Malay States.—The Malay Peninsula is divided by a line separating the native states which acknowledge vassalage to Siam by the annual offering of the *bunga mas*, or Golden Flower, from those under British protection. The latter are five in number, with a collective area of about 27,000 square miles, and population of 400,000. The change in their condition since the introduction of British control, exercised through residents who are nominally the advisers of the Sultans, but really the administrators of the respective States, is characterised by Mr. Norman as "one of the most astounding spectacles in the history of the British Empire." All the reforms by which their revenues and trade have been largely increased, while their resources have been extensively developed, have been carried out by a handful of European officials directing a native staff, the result being to give them the aspect of British colonies with a population consisting of Malays and Chinese. Roads, railways, hospitals, dispensaries, post offices, telegraphs, sanitary boards, and compulsory vaccination, are among the visible signs of their increasing prosperity. Land, both for mining and agriculture, is being rapidly taken up in districts a few years ago covered by impassable jungle, and 140 miles of railway have been built with a success which may be measured by the payment in the case of one line of a dividend of $12\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. Pahang, exhausted by centuries of misrule, is the one exception to the general record of progress, for here, though the condition of the people is much ameliorated by the abolition of the most oppressive forms of tyranny, much yet remains to be done before it is assimilated to its neighbours. The danger to the future of these States arises from the insecurity of their present chief source of wealth, in their alluvial tin mines, which after a limited time must be worked out. To take the place of this precarious industry, agricultural development should be encouraged, as in this direction the fertility of the soil gives great promise of future possibilities. Tea, coffee, pepper, tobacco, and rice would all be remunerative crops, now that the improvement of communications renders possible their transport to a market. Mr. Norman also opines that the present system of administration through residents has had its day, and that some form of combined government or confederation under British rule is required to secure the future of the Protected States.

A Visit to Vladivostock.—Mr. Henry Norman is one of the few Englishmen who have in recent years visited the great naval stronghold of Russia in the Far East. A deep inlet shaped like the

letter L, approached by narrow channels, forms the sheltered and easily defended anchorage termed the Eastern Bosphorus, the "Golden Horn" of the Pacific. The town lies at the foot of the wooded hills enclosing the north side of the harbour, and has a population of 15,000, of whom nearly half are soldiers and officials, while 5000 are Chinese and Koreans, who reside in a separate quarter, and supply all the labour of the settlement. The defences have been enormously strengthened since the last war scare, and the author believes that it is now impregnable from the sea, although parts of the town might be shelled overland. The present restrictive regulations as to the visits of foreign ships of war, limiting their number to two of any one fleet at a time, date from the panic produced among the authorities there on August 21st, 1886, when, in the absence of the Russian fleet, the lifting of a fog disclosed the eight ships of the English Pacific squadron dropping anchor in faultless order in the inner harbour within the batteries. An enemy, by doing this a short time before war was declared, would have the place at his mercy, and with it the Russian naval power on the Pacific. Although the port is closed by ice for four months of the year, from December 17th to April 17th, or thereabouts, there is now an American machine which can plough a channel for ships at any season of the year. In regard to the general position of Russia in the East, Mr. Norman points out the predominance that will be secured to her by the completion, probably within the next ten years, of the Trans-Siberian railway, enabling her alone among European Powers to transport troops in a few days from her western dominions to the Pacific coast. This power of concentration would place her in a position to land an expedition on any point of the Far East before defensive measures could be taken to meet such a contingency, and in order to counteract this increase of strength England ought, in the writer's view, to secure a port on the same ocean a thousand miles further north than Hong Kong, her present outpost in this direction. The ultimate terminus of the Trans-Siberian railway will be, he concludes, at Port Lazareff, a splendid harbour open all the year round.

Cattle Rearing in the Argentine.—The introduction some fifteen years ago of English stock into the Argentine country has revolutionised its cattle industry, by improving the native breed called *criollos*, and enabling them to put on the fat required by the English market. While the best of the *criollo* cattle are now sent

across the Andes to Chile, after being kept on alfalfa in the province of San Juan and Mendoza for some time, a better class of animal with some English blood is shipped to the Brazilian ports, and the fattest beasts to England, after being transferred from the hands of the breeder to those of the *invernador*, who fattens them for the foreign market. The value of live cattle and sheep exported from the Republic in 1894 amounted to over a million sterling, but they did not come up to the standard of English butchers, and fetched lower prices than North American cattle. A syndicate of *invernadores* has now been formed to remedy this inferiority, undertaking to send over cattle to this country in every respect equal to those of their rivals, at £12 instead of £18 per head. The valuable properties of alfalfa (*luzerne*), imperfectly as they are turned to account, give a great stimulus to the grazing business in the Argentine. In one district of 20,000 square miles, from Fortugas in Santa Fé to Rio Cuarto in Corduba, and from Venado Tuerto to the neighbourhood of Fraile Muerto, cattle can be turned into the alfalfa fields and fattened on the crop, which for twenty years requires neither manure or irrigation, and only at the end of that time begins to show signs of exhaustion, being no longer capable of feeding the same amount of stock. The discovery of the capabilities of the alfalfa district is of recent date, as it had hitherto been regarded as one of the most unproductive in the country, incapable of growing nutritious grass or trees of any size. In part it is indeed a complete desert, where rain falls only about three or four times a year. It would now appear that the long roots of the alfalfa, penetrating the loose sandy soil, find water below it at a depth of some 20 feet, rendering the grass independent of rainfall or irrigation. Where the crop is less luxuriant it has to be cut for hay as it does not bear the trampling of animals, and if protected from this source of injury will give five cuttings a year, or about twelve tons per acre. Its fattening properties are due to the nitrogen, which like its congeners of the clover family, it derives from the air.

Korean Export of Ginseng.—The Journal of the Manchester Geographical Society, vol. ix., contains an interesting account of this mysterious root, prized as the sovereign remedy of the Chinese Pharmacopœia, the monopoly of which forms one of the principal sources of revenue in Korea. The virtues ascribed to the plant are rather of a supernatural than of a therapeutical character, as it is believed to be inhabited by a life-giving spirit, and endowed with powers of locomotion which enable it to run away when sought for. The most

prized variety in China is that found in the province of Quantung. Here the quest for it is undertaken under Government auspices by adventurous seekers who start with rations for a fortnight, and the majority of whom are said to perish, either devoured by wild beasts or worn out by fatigue or hunger. Now and again, a favoured individual is permitted to see the spiritual essence which invests the plant with a halo, pointing the spot at which to dig for it when daylight dawns. The highest quality of Korean ginseng, there called "Sam," is the wild mountain variety, the roots of which sometimes grow to a length of four feet. As it is very rare, as much as two thousand dollars has been given for a single specimen. A spurious imitation of the wild species is sometimes raised from seed sown in the forests, but experts are said to be able to tell the difference. The ordinary Korean quality is cultivated on farms under Government supervision, provided with watch-towers to guard the costly crop from the depredations of nocturnal pilferers. The plant, reared from seeds sown in the autumn, flourishes in darkness, so it is always grown in sheds under the shade of screens of matting let down from the roof. It reaches maturity at the end of seven years, when the seeds ripen and the roots are also ready for the harvest. They are taken up, as far as possible, whole, steamed in baskets and dried on bamboo gratings over a fire. In the process they turn red and become clarified. According to popular belief, the effect of the remedy is to render the patient unconscious for three days and ill for a month, after which he recovers and lives in perfect health for ninety or a hundred years. It is a curious coincidence that in America, where ginseng is also found, the Indians have many superstitious beliefs in connection with it, and ascribe to it various curative properties, more especially inherent in every seventh plant gathered.

Captain Younghusband on Chitral.—The Chitral Expedition, whatever its eventual political results, has added largely to our geographical knowledge of a region that has been hitherto almost a *terra incognita*. The triangle of mountainous territory lying between the west bank of the Indus and the north bank of the Kabul river, has never since 1863 been entered by British troops, and had been traversed by but one European, Mr. M'Nair. Chitral itself was little better known, until the arrival of a Russian exploring party from the north called the attention of the Indian authorities to the vulnerability of their outer line of defence in that quarter. Captain Younghusband, whose lecture on it attracted an overflowing audience

to the theatre of the University of London on the evening of March 25th, gained his intimate acquaintance with it in the course of a mission on which he first accompanied Mr. Robertson in January 1893, and then replaced him from May to the end of the year. Under these circumstances, he was in close communication with Nizam-ul-Mulk, the then reigning Mehtar, whose assassination in January last was the beginning of the recent trouble. He describes him as "devoted to hawking, shooting, and sport of every kind, a first-rate polo player, and a man who, though unable to read and write, had plenty of native ability, and was well up in everything that concerned his country, and in the character and history of every man above the lowest in it." He ruled in patriarchal fashion, holding a durbar twice a day, one at eleven in the forenoon, and another at about ten at night. Held in the open, under the shade of some huge plane-tree, with the Mehtar and the English officer seated on chairs, the principal chiefs squatting in a semicircle in front, guards and crowds of natives in the background, and the ever present snowy peaks closing the distance, these primitive courts of justice formed scenes characteristic of Eastern life and manners. Not only all the affairs of the country, but its gossip and scandal as well, were discussed there, and each disputant, after kissing the Mehtar's hand or foot, pleaded his suit in person, while judgment was usually given after consultation with the elders of his village. All the leading inhabitants of Chitral are expected to reside in the capital, and assist in the Government by attendance at the durbars, &c., for two months of every year, during which time they are the guests of the Mehtar; and as some of the lower classes have also to serve as his guards and attendants for a like period, he comes into personal contact with most of his subjects, and becomes known to them in turn.

Character of the People of Chitral.—In accompanying the Mehtar on a tour through his dominions, the English visitor had an opportunity of mixing familiarly with all grades of the inhabitants, and found them impulsive and warm-hearted, with many lovable traits, as well as many tiresome ways. They are greedy of presents, and very jealous of those bestowed on others, and are great lovers of sport, shooting and hawking forming the universal recreations, and sharing in popularity with polo which is played by old and young, men of sixty seeming just as keen about it as their junior competitors.

They are capable [said the lecturer] of becoming very warmly attached to British officers, and General Lockhart is a god amongst them. He

appears to have gained their hearts by making jokes. They love a joke. It need not be a very deep one, but such as it is it will be received with shouts of laughter and repeated for years afterwards.

Mountainous Aspect of Chitral.—"A sea of mountains" is the phrase used to describe the country, as seen from the summit of a peak overhanging its capital. A skeleton land of bare brown rock, its sterility is relieved only by patches of green at the bottom of the narrow valleys, while the element of sublimity is supplied by the snowy ranges culminating in the great mass of Tirich Mir, 25,000 ft. high. The little villages with their tiny domains, the largest, that of Chitral itself, only three miles long, are described as wonderfully beautiful, with orchards and green fields, studded with mulberry, walnut, apricot, and plane-trees, the effect being enhanced by the dreariness of the scenery the traveller has previously ridden through.

Chitral after the War.—The *Times* correspondent, who accompanied the expedition, and pushed on ahead of it for the last 44 miles, found these lovely and smiling villages almost deserted by their inhabitants, in consequence of the devastations of the allied chiefs, Umra Khan and Sher Afzul, as well as from fear of the British advance. While everything they possessed had been carried off by the native freebooters, a report had been spread that the British were about to burn every village and massacre all the inhabitants, as retribution for the attack on their officers. All along the road to Chitral the same experience was repeated, and scattered hamlets surrounded by shade and verdure were found abandoned, or occupied by terror-stricken inhabitants. Chitral itself is situated in a valley fenced in with high mountains, and the now historic fort is seen nestling amid giant plane trees. The valley is sprinkled with tiny villages and covered with trees, offering a striking contrast to the barrenness of its enclosing hills. The great skill shown by the besiegers was due to the experience of Umra Khan's troops in siege operations, as his native country, Bajaur, is studded with miniature forts two or three to the square mile, and he was noted for his success in capturing these little strongholds. At Chitral consequently, the stone breast-works called *sangars* were thrown up in regular parallels, a mine was scientifically constructed, large scaling-ladders were prepared, and ammunition was so carefully economised that not a shot was wasted, every cartridge being accounted for to the commanding officer.

British Somaliland.—The British Protectorate on the Somali coast is a model dependency as regards its financial administration, since its revenue largely exceeds its expenditure. The necessity for its occupation arises from its proximity to Aden, which its coast line of 300 miles directly faces, and which derives from it the bulk of its supply of meat. A letter of Mr. Curzon's, published in the *Times* of February 16th, describing his visit to it on his return from the Indian frontier, furnishes us with the latest information regarding it. A land which, though not apparently rich or fertile, is capable of supporting large herds of cattle, sheep, and goats, it is one of the few great game preserves left in Africa, and has recently supplied a new species of giraffe with the tawny brown of its hide intersected by narrow white lines instead of the irregular spots with which it is dappled in the older variety. Its inhabitants are that fierce and warlike race whose strange passion for surgical operations brought them constantly to Captain James's camp to be cut and slashed by the doctor, as they liked, they said, "to feel steel." They were at that time equally willing to treat others to the same sensations, and were considered a treacherous people. Those within the radius of the British authority have, however, settled down peaceably, and are so thoroughly broken in that it is thought it may be soon possible to withdraw the handful of Indian troops that keep order along the seaboard, and entrust the task to the native militia, including a small but very efficient Somali camel corps. The popularity of British rule is not to be wondered at, since it furnishes employment to hundreds on public works, supplies hospitals, schools, and dispensaries gratis, and distributes unstinted relief in time of famine. Its judicial machinery inspires increasing confidence in the tribesmen, who have learned to trust an Englishman's word so completely that his name on a scrap of paper to be cashed at Aden will be unhesitatingly accepted as a substitute for money hundreds of miles from the coast, where only hard cash would be taken from any other foreigner. The Somali race is supposed to be a mixed one, derived from the intermarriage of Arab immigrants with the Galla tribes. The men are slenderly built, without the powerful physique of the negro, but have great hardihood and endurance. Their dress consists of a white sheet draped over the shoulders, while yellow clay rubbed into their frizzy locks gives them the golden hue demanded by fashionable taste. The principal ports are Berbera, Bulhar, and Zeyla, the former, with a population of 30,000 during the trading season, being the capital and chief emporium. A group of white-washed buildings on a yellow beach constitutes the official and mercantile quarter, while the native settlement is formed of grass huts as closely packed together as the authorities will permit.

NOTES OF TRAVEL AND EXPLORATION.

Behind the settlement thus constituted [says the letter] a hot and sandy maritime plain, thinly speckled with mimosa and other scrub, extends inland, gradually rising towards the first and lower mountain ranges, which, at distances varying from 2 to 20 miles from the coast, lift an arid sandstone formation to a height of from 500 to 1000 ft. Then ensue long stony and jungly plains, after crossing which, for 30 miles or more, the main *ghats* are reached, a fine mountain range tree-clad and culminating in peaks 7000 ft. high. Such is the almost uniform panorama of the Somali coast.

French Protectorate on the Bay of Tadjura.—The adjoining French protectorate was also visited by the correspondent, who was courteously received by the authorities. The port of Obok has been abandoned since 1887, for the superior harbour of Jibuti on the southern coast of the Gulf of Tadjura. A jetty has been made of stones and rubble, and the subsidised steamers of the *Messageries Maritimes* call there, but the trade is small. A miniature Decauville railway runs inland for a few miles, from the pier to the fort that guards the water supply of the town.

Notices of Books.

Retraite Pascale d'après les grands Prédicateurs Contemporains. Par M. L'ABBÉ PLUOT. Paris: Téqui, 1895.

A NEW edition of the Abbé Pluot's "Retraite Pascale" affords us an opportunity of calling attention to a remarkable and useful book. The compiler of this collection of present-day sermons on eternal verities is a priest who has had great experience in the ministry. An attentive and sympathetic study of the needs of our age has fitted him for judging what remedies and what physicians are best calculated to lead the sick and weary souls of Christians back to health and energy. Thanks to his thorough and practical knowledge of shorthand, the Abbé has been able to follow the eloquent discourses of some of the very best French preachers. Of these sermons he has chosen those best suited to his immediate purpose, and arranged them, after the so-called Ignatian pattern, in the order of a retreat. These spiritual exercises, though they are called "Retraite Pascale," may be used with profit at any season of the year.

Besides the usual retreat instructions there are thoughtful sermons on "The restlessness of human life," "Delaying Conversion," "Easter Duties," "We must love the Church," "Zeal of Souls," &c. These and the more hackneyed subjects are treated with freshness, life, and variety by well-known French orators. The names of Cardinal Caverot, Canon Bretter, Father Monsabré, O.P., and other distinguished preachers, are guarantees of the merit locked up in the sermons contained in the Abbé Pluot's compilation. Here and there in the volume edifying examples are interspersed which rather detract from the value of a serious work. Tastes differ, but to an English palate most of the *traits historiques* seem to possess the insolidity and cloying sweetness of comfits. Fortunately, these pale imitations of extinct Sunday-school literature are few and far between.

Reasonableness of Catholic Ceremonies and Practices. By Rev. J. J. BURKE. Second edition. New York: Benziger Brothers. 1894.

THIS little work, we are told in the preface, was originally issued in the form of two small pamphlets, "The Reasonableness of the Ceremonies of the Catholic Church," and "The Reasonableness of the Practices of the Catholic Church." The first edition having been disposed of, the author has deemed it advisable to unite the two pamphlets in one small volume. The principal object in preparing these papers has been to explain (for the benefit of those unable to procure more complete works) some matters much misunderstood by non-Catholics, and often undervalued by the children of the Church. By the *Practices* of the Catholic Church Father Burke means those devotions and usages characteristic of her. Hence, in these pages he does not treat of religious observances common to all Christians; but only those that are especially Catholic. The meaning of Ceremonies, their impressiveness, and their agreement with the twofold element in man's nature are first considered. The objection taken from John iv. 24, is met and answered in words which give an epitome of the larger work, "In spirit and in truth." Our old friend Fr. Glover, O.S.B., and his invaluable explanation of the ceremonies of the Mass comes back to our mind as we examine with Father Burke the meaning of the vestments worn by the celebrant and the reasons for using Latin during the august Sacrifice. Cardinal Newman's beautiful and ever-welcome words on the Holy Mass bring the first part of this volume to a fitting conclusion. Two-thirds of the book are devoted to the *Practices* of the Catholic Church. Vespers and Benediction are the first treated. The rite of Benediction is explained, and everything connected with it is shown to be "reasonable, beautiful, and suggestive of the noblest sentiments of the heart of man." The Blessed Sacrament receives further and more precise treatment in succeeding pages. Confirmation, confession, indulgences, veneration of our Blessed Lady are dwelt upon briefly, but in words which reveal the well-read theologian as well as the popular speaker. After speaking of prayers for the dead and prayers to the saints, the author takes up the subject of sacramentals, and here, we think, he is at his best. Few Catholics will rise up from reading Father Burke's short, pithy paragraphs on the Sign of the Cross, Holy Water, Candles, Palms, &c., without having learnt something profitable both to themselves and to those without who may inquire about these things. Clergymen having converts to instruct will find these pamphlets exceedingly

useful. They are admirable for their brevity and clearness. Points known already come out more distinctly in these pages, and all the subjects are set forth in a manner to bring home to the heart of every dispassionate reader the truths that underlie the ceremonies and practices of the Infallible Bride of Christ.

The Great Problem of Substance and its Attributes, involving the Relationship and Laws of Matter and Mind as the Phenomena of the World derived from the Absolute. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., Ltd., Paternoster House, Charing Cross Road. 1895. Pp. 197.

THE following extract is taken from the author's preface:—

If I may be permitted to call attention to some of the specialities which characterise this publication, I would mention the following. The inherent attributes of primitive and essential substance have been eviscerated; for substance without attributes is a contradiction in terms. The expressions, spirit and matter, have been respectively defined, while their consanguinity and connection have been traced to what is obviously their natural source. The great bugbear of the age, that of materialism as itself the direct foundation of mind, has been relegated to its proper province. The precise source and foundation of physical forces, and the laws whereby they have their play in the economy of nature, have been pointed to, as determined in circumstances consistent with universal experience. The basis of life, that is, of natural law in the vegetable and animal spheres, as well as in the mineral kingdom, has been duly manifested; and the great law of causality, as an all-pervading principle in the wonderful chain of existing conditions, has been fairly analysed and formally promulged.

The above is a very fair sample of the anonymous author's work, which is dim, misty, shadowy, and, so far as we can see, calculated to serve no good purpose whatever.

Outlines of Dogmatic Theology. By SYLVESTER JOSEPH HUNTER, of the Society of Jesus. Volume I. London: Longmans, Green & Co. 1895. Pp. 525.

WE welcomed the announcement that a course of Dogmatic Theology in English was to appear. Such a work was badly needed, for nothing of the kind existed. An English version of a well-known Theology was indeed commenced a few years ago, but unfortunately, for whatever reason, it was never carried into the second volume. Moreover, it was understood that the new Dogmatic Theology was to issue from the Jesuit press, and, after the extremely

able series of philosophical manuals which had been published by the Jesuit Fathers, this seemed to be a guarantee of a very high order of excellence. In consequence it was with a distinct prejudice in its favour that we sat down to read the first volume of the "Outlines of Dogmatic Theology." But we are bound to say that we concluded our reading with a sense of disappointment. That the book is a useful one we freely admit. Where there is no competition anything is useful. But that it is likely to become and to remain a standard work we can scarcely believe. We doubt if we can allow the "Outlines" the merit of being a good work from even the literary point of view. That the style is easy, and flowing, and clear is undeniable. But each subject calls for its own special style, and we cannot think that the style of the "Outlines" is suitable to the treatment of Dogmatic Theology. One of the aims which the writer proposes to himself is to enable the reader "to realise how closely the various parts of theology are linked together." If the author's style were more nervous and concise, if his book were really more after the manner of an outline, Fr. Hunter would have better effected his purpose. The book is easy to read, but it is not easy to carry away, and it is not easily seen as a whole. Fr. Hunter states that he has followed in the arrangement of his treatises the "admirable Compendium of Father Hurter." We wish that our author had followed Hurter even still more closely. We wish that he had contented himself with giving us the skeleton and framework of Hurter's Compendium which well deserves to be called admirable. He would then have accomplished his desire of presenting us with a work which would enable us to see Theology as a whole and to retain a clear and distinct recollection of it. He would have avoided discussing at length such questions as that of the temporal power of the Popes, which do not usually find a prominent place in dogmatic text-books, and would have devoted the space thus saved to the further elucidation of points that are more unquestionably dogmatic. But where there is no choice we cannot afford to be particular. So, for the present, and till something better appears, we must do our best to feel grateful to Fr. Hunter for the first volume of his "Outlines of Dogmatic Theology."

Cardinal Franzelin, S.J. A Sketch and a Study. By the Rev. NICHOLAS WALSH, S.J. Dublin: Gill & Son. 1895.

WHEREVER theological learning is sheltered: wherever it is regarded as a science of profound depth, working on scientific principles of its own, wherever the brain is duly cultivated, and a solid volume of learning is welcome, wherever miserable epitomes are repudiated and the administration of theology in homœopathic doses invisibly small condemned, there the name of Franzelin will be held in due honour. That the Jesuit Order has been the friend of learning nobody will deny with an intelligent and honest countenance. That theological learning has found a refuge in their halls, and still finds a congenial home among that learned community—and that their great Chair in the Gregorian University in Rome when held by Franzelin had not its glory dimmed by its occupant, is a statement which will receive universal assent. Of all the sciences theology is the noblest—it deals with revelation scientifically. Its premises are certain, its logic cogent, its conclusions irresistible. Viewed in substance its matter is the highest, its motives the surest, its convictions the firmest of all the sciences. It is prolific in kindred sciences. It gives knowledge to the intellect, piety to the will, warmth to the heart, and purity to the affections. Touching the intellect it gives us truth; touching the soul it gives us morality. In a wider range, if you view it as a subject of Belief, you have Dogma; as a subject guiding Act you have Morals; as a system of Ethics legally sanctioned and working along the lines of community and social life you have Canon Law; as a force permeating the minds of men, and manifesting itself as a power among men, nations, and tribes, you have Ecclesiastical History, all sciences closely intertwined, so much so that to be an expert in one, it is necessary to cultivate the others.

When such is the character of the science to be taught it will be readily seen the kind of scholar that it takes to make a really good Professor of Theology—and this was the scholar that the students of the Gregorian University had in Franzelin. We feel tempted to think that had we such a man as Franzelin in England what would we do with him? Perhaps send him into a seminary to teach half-a-dozen raw youths Bishop Hay's "Sincere Christian." We are suffering an unknown loss in men, in money, in bricks and mortar, and in the inefficiency of the work done by the deplorable decentralisation of ecclesiastical education. It seems to be the easiest thing in the world to man with Professors an establishment where the ecclesias-

tical sciences are taken in and done for, while we maintain that the most difficult problem about the matter is to raise a really good first-rate body of learned and devoted men whose opinion would carry weight both at home and abroad, and who would be capable of raising the standard of learning, and giving our students the highest degree of mental and moral training that, humanly speaking, they are capable of receiving. When we remember Cardinal Franzelin with his 300 odd theologians listening to him, and his successor, Cardinal Mazzella, with nearly 450 under perfect control in one class, and then turn round and see at least ten men engaged in teaching fewer men, and in teaching them considerably worse, we may safely wonder at the wisdom of waste, decentralisation, and inefficiency which we can ill afford. Given the Professor, it is as easy to teach 300 men as 30.

Franzelin's reputation rests on his characteristics as a Professor and as a Theologian with a method and style of his own, and we fear that this salient point in his character Father Walsh has failed to bring out. Not that the book is not pervaded by a serious spirit and possesses many good points, but it has some serious defects, not the least being a tendency to give us an odd chapter on Ascetic Theology here and there, where a passing glimpse would suffice in a life. Pages of Spiritual Perfection are all right in Rodriguez, but in reading a life it is important not to give prolix disquisitions on the virtues, &c., with which our subject was ornamented. For instance, we have seven pages (pp. 29-36) on the "State of Life"—again, a similar series of moral reflections, extending from p. 48 to p. 64—again, from 113 on several pages—again, from 132 to 138, and, again, from 158 to 173—all *ex professo* disquisitions on the spiritual life and piety in general. The result is that his Eminence disappears to turn up again later on. These are practically all the drawbacks of moment in the arrangement, but it must be said that a general impression remains that the striking personality of Cardinal Franzelin in the academic arena of the nineteenth century is not brought out as well as the great Cardinal's admirers could wish. We hope that several interested classes will read the book carefully—Bishops, so that they may see the style of man capable of training their ecclesiastical students; Professors, who may learn what their position is capable of; Students, who may learn piety and perhaps humility at their shortcomings, especially if they cannot devour Greek texts from the *Patrologia Græca* during their walks, and when recovering from a fit of sickness at eighteen, race through the old Bible in Hebrew without the points as a mild form of relaxation; in fine, the whole of our reading public, that they

may be edified by a holy and humble life of the greatest theologian of the nineteenth century.

Chant Grégorien: Grammaire Élémentaire. Par l'Abbé C. CARTAUD. Solesmes: Imprimerie Saint-Pierre. 1895. Pp. 128.

THE title of this little work may not serve to give every one a correct notion of its contents. The word "grammar" as applied to the Gregorian Chant, has not yet acquired a fixed meaning. With our author (and we think rightly) it does not necessarily include any treatment of the Liturgical Books, nor even of the construction of the Church modes, nor of their transposition, nor does it comprise anything more than the merest allusion to the accompaniment of the chant. Grammar, strictly speaking, deals with the words of which language is composed, and with the laws that govern it. If we apply it to the subject in hand, grammar expounds the principles and rules for reading and singing the text of the sacred offices of the Church. It is in this sense that our author employs the term. His treatise is divided into two parts, to which is added a supplement of examples.

In Part I. the elements which go to make up a sentence, and the manner of its oral expression in reading, are analysed with considerable care and penetration. We are led on through *letters, syllables, words*, and their *accentuation to phrases*, complete and incomplete.

In Part II. the different elements into which the written or spoken sentence is resolved are shown to have their exact counterpart in the melodies of the chant. The chant has its *letters (notes)*, *syllables (groups of notes)*, *words (groups of musical syllables)*, and *phrases (groups of musical words)*. The comparison here drawn out is no ingenious and artificial arrangement. It goes to the very root of the construction of the Gregorian song, and supplies the only rational basis for its true interpretation. The writer makes no claim to be a discoverer. His one object is to popularise the larger works of men like Dom. Pothier, Dom. Schmitt, P. Lhomeau, and others. He has followed somewhat closely the "*Mémoires Grégoriennes*" of Dom. Pothier, but never to the abandonment of his own system and individuality. His clear conception of the view he is setting forth, his accurate and incisive statement of principles, his constant and patient application of the rules of good reading to the execution of the chant, his insistence on those points that tell most in the rendering of a piece, the twofold setting of all his examples

in Gregorian and modern notation, his judicious employment of the marks of expression, the unmistakable clearness of the examples that are worked out in his supplement, make the book an important addition to the literature of this subject.

The present work is the sequel to one brought out by the same author in 1893 (*Chant grégorien. L'édition bénédictine et les diverses éditions modernes*), in which the rules elaborated by Dom. Pothier for the execution of plain chant were adapted to recent editions, other than that of Solesmes. Now, however, he has produced an elementary manual especially designed to promote the true interpretation of the Benedictine edition. Still, as the bulk of the principles and rules that come under treatment are of a general character, the book will prove a valuable aid to the proper rendering of the authorised Roman edition.

H. P.

La Liberté. Première partie. Historique du problème au XIXe Siècle. Par l'Abbé C. PIART. Paris: Lethellieux. 1894. 12mo. Pp. 351.

THE Abbé Piart, Professor at the Institut Catholique of Paris, has given us a very useful work on the subject of the controversy respecting the freedom of the will. His treatise is in no sense a compilation, it is a serious and original study of opinions. It is a history, but not simply a record. It is a systematic, accurate, and thoughtful exposition of typical views for and against liberty, which have been propounded by leading men since the time of the French Revolution. The author confines himself to the nineteenth century, and deals mainly with the writings of philosophers of the French and German schools. At first sight it might appear that he has attached too little importance to the position taken up by the two Mills, and Dr. Bain; but the wider horizon which he opens out only serves to display the narrowness and comparative insignificance of our English school of Sensism, when viewed as part of the great field of controversy over which the issues involved in the discussion of human liberty have been contested. The ground of the conflict is mapped out into three primary sections: 1. The Reaction against the materialism of the eighteenth century, which produced Eclecticism in France and Transcendentalism in Germany. The tendency of these two schools was in the direction of liberty. 2. The determinism which was the outcome of the success and exclusive methods of physical science. But in proportion as one or other element in the

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factors of human activity received undue emphasis, the character of the denial of liberty was changed. Thus Comte, Mill, and Spencer are classed as types of the school that denies the freedom of the will on the strength of reasons drawn from physical science—Richet, Bain, Taine, Garofalo and Maudesley are presented as four divergent types of the opinion which assails liberty on the ground of the close connection between, or rather the substantial identity of the psychic and the organic. Schopenhauer and Fouillée are cited as two widely different instances of thinkers who refuse to admit liberty on grounds purely psychological. Not the least interesting section is the last, in which the reaction of the Neo-critical school in favour of liberty is exemplified in the Swiss philosopher, M. Secrétan, and in the French writer, M. Renouvier. The various theories are handled in a manner which, while it is uniform, never becomes in the slightest degree wearisome. Each view is introduced with its historical setting, and expounded by well-chosen extracts and summaries, for which references are supplied in the notes. The position of the author is exactly defined, and the arguments he adopts are worked out with some detail. The way in which the several schools dealt with current proofs or disproofs is carefully shown, and the efforts made by successive theorists to bring their pronouncements into agreement with the facts of consciousness, the moral dictates, the laws of universal causation, conservation of energy or persistence of movement, are worked out with considerable skill and patience. The exposition of an opinion is followed by some brief and spontaneous criticism of its salient features.

The detailed and orderly investigation of hypotheses so radically incompatible as those which form the subject of this work, reveals, as nothing else would, their narrowness, their dogmatism, and the inability or unwillingness of their patrons to grasp views opposed to their own. But while, taken as a whole, these opinions are mutually destructive, it is not to be inferred that the exponent of Catholic truth will discharge to the full the obligation laid upon him, unless, he enters seriously and generously into those difficulties, which have seemed decisive proofs to men who have adopted the wrong solution of one of the gravest of human problems. We are of opinion that the arguments for liberty drawn from the facts of consciousness may receive a still keener edge, the response of the agent to the external motives by which it is solicited admits of still finer analysis, the area of free action requires more precise definition than it has yet received, the modifications and hindrances of liberty, the *impedimenta liberi*, even at this period of their scientific explanation, will bear an elucidation more real, living, and psychological than is found in the

ordinary manual; the distinction and correlation of the psychic, organic, and mechanical, or muscular elements in willing, require to be exhibited in a form which shall effectually dispel the confusion of current error; the intellectual element in a free act demands more distinct emphasis in our explanations of its nature, and the anti-impulsive effort, so ably treated by Dr. Ward in the pages of this REVIEW, should receive most careful exposition. In the privacy of some small philosophical class, the well-worn stock arguments may be accepted as sound and satisfactory, but minds have to be disciplined as to be capable of grasping the idiosyncrasy of an opponent's view, and the arguments employed must be so pointed and weighted, as to hit and destroy the error against which they are directed.

The critical touches of the Abbé Piart lead us confidently to believe that, in the second volume of his work, he will manipulate the old weapons in a manner worthy of the skill he has shown in the delineation of doctrines that are wholly or in part erroneous.

Where there is so much that is excellent, it seems ungracious to find fault, still we cannot but regret the total absence of an index, or a comprehensive table of contents. Possibly the defect of index will be supplied in the next volume. Again, the references given in the footnotes leave much to be desired. In these active times, citation by chapter, by lesson, or still more by the mere title of a book or article, will by most readers be deemed somewhat inadequate. It also appears to be a defect in a work of this description that the dates of writers who are brought up for treatment, and the precise time at which they wrote, are not generally given. It must, however, be understood that blemishes such as these do not affect the general excellence of the production. The diction throughout is clear and copious. There is not a dry page in the book, nor is there one that falls below the dignity of a philosophical treatise. He describes the spirit of the school of Kant and his successors as "*une sorte de débauche métaphysique*," p. 73. Elsewhere referring to the same school, he says, "*En France on ne dépassait que timidement la frontière des phénomènes . . . en Allemagne, au contraire, on se jeta à toutes voiles dans l'absolu*," p. 99.

Within the limits of a notice there is little room for extracts, and it must suffice to have instanced, as samples of delicate and masterly criticism, the author's comments on Jouffroy, p. 68, on the Eclectics, pp. 101-3, on Schelling, p. 105, on Comte, p. 130, on Fouillée, p. 249, on Secrétan, p. 290-291.

Some may complain that M. l'Abbé Piart has thrown himself even too generously into the position of the figures of his history. He

finds excellences where others would discover only deficiencies and shortsightedness. Maine de Biran is for our author "un immortel psychologue," p. 15: "le plus grand psychologue de notre siècle. Jouffroy is "cette figure à la fois noble et méditative," p. 50. Schelling is "un génie trop peu connu," p. 76, "une grande âme et d'une puissante intelligence," p. 95, "il a laissé sur le problème qu'il a remué des aperçus nouveaux, qu'il faudra désormais en tenir compte. Il s'est mis par là au rang des plus grands philosophes." *Ib.* Frank recognitions like these cannot be construed into any approval of the portentous errors into which great minds have been betrayed; while besides being an honest tribute to the existence of real natural gifts, they may do something to secure a considerate hearing from men who count themselves as disciples of our great modern philosophers. We feel convinced that this work will well repay the careful study of all those who are interested in the grave problem, whose recent history it unfolds.

H. P.

Summa Syntaxica cum thematis ad exercendum. Auct.
MARIO LAPLAND, Soc. Jes. Sac. Friburgi-Brig. 1894.

THIS is a thoroughly practical exercise-book for teaching Latin composition. In the first part are given the principal rules of Latin Syntax, stated as concisely as possible, and illustrated by well-chosen examples. The second part consists chiefly of passages from various Latin authors, graduated in difficulty, for translation and dictation. The compiler has in some cases made the constructions easier for the youngest students on the principle that *nutrices cibum prius mandunt molliuntque, quam infantibus in os inserant*. It may be remarked as an advantage that the examples and selections are not confined to the authors usually read in England and called *par excellence* "classical," but we find passages from such authors as Gellius, Celsus, Mela, Florus, Vitruvius, and Palladius. Consequently the constructions are not confined to the "best period" of Latin, e.g., *dicam quod* with indic, occurs as an example. The division of the subject also differs from ours in some respects. What we call *oratio obliqua* appears here under the heading *De oratione subjunctiva*, while the various uses of the subjunctive in adverbial clauses are here classified under the heading *De ceteris orationis modis*, and divided into *modus finalis, modus causalis, &c.*

Short Practical Sermons for Early Masses, &c. By Rev. G. F. WOLLGARTEN. St. Louis, Mo.: Berthold & Co. 1894.

IN a few centuries from now the ecclesiastical historian who deals in minute things will note the rise and development in the end of the nineteenth century of the five-minute sermons, and will doubtless formulate a theory regarding the exigencies of life, which demanded such a literary product, and will presumably note the prevalence of "essences" and "extracts," and *multum-in-parvos*. In all ranks the pressure is keen, and the clergy, who keep penny banks, and soup-kitchens, and are members of school boards and boards of guardians, and preside at Healthy Homes Societies, and organise school treats and trips, and parochial gatherings, and charity sermons, and bazaars, and finance a mission, and compile form ix. and adjust differences, and keep everybody and everything in order, and glance at their daily paper, and carefully con over their daily breviary, and do a thousand and one things about half-a-dozen confraternities, &c., will find little time to do the work of preaching the word of God. Hence a handy sermon, brief, pithy, with a couple of salient points which he can seize, and develop at the shortest notice, is a God-send, as it may be a question of no sermon, or a sermon that is no compliment to the office of preacher, or the intelligence and piety of the faithful. Hence we welcome the *Repertorium*—Sermons from the Flemish—Gahan was famous as a set preacher, but we live in five-minute times—and the present two volumes. They are helps, with, of course, the general tendency of stifling thought and originality, but that cannot be helped; they are useful for the preacher, useful as meditation, useful as spiritual reading, but spiritual reading among our laity is not regular. Hence we recommend these short sermons. In a Church with masses following at each hour, one of them can be used with good effect. One good and fruitful point driven home, and the three early masses in average parochial church can have their short sermon to instruct those who rarely hear a sermon, and to rouse the torpid by a few pithy and incisive sentences. These Sermons answer the purpose well; they are short, they are moral and didactic, and thus warm the heart and enlighten the mind. We recommend them to the clergy as being suggestive, and hope they will in many quarters aid our priests to speak with advantage to their flocks. Men will always listen, and these two handy volumes will equip many a preacher to instruct and edify, when left to himself he perhaps would only partially succeed in doing either.

Histoire de Lescure, ancien fief immédiat du Saint-Siège et de ses Seigneurs. Par l'Abbé HENRY GRAULE. Paris: Tequi. 1895. 8o. 3e. édition. Prix 4 fs.

THIS bulky volume of 758 pages is the historical record of a village situated on the right bank of the Tarn, about two miles above Albi. It was written by the Curé at the instigation of the late Archbishop, who, desirous of compiling materials for the civil and religious history of his diocese, requested each of his parish priests to furnish him with full details of their respective parishes. If this book be a specimen of similar labours, the "*Albia Christiana*," designed by Mgr. Ramadié, will be—if ever completed—a monumental work of the utmost importance. The Société Archéologique de Toulouse, to mark their appreciation of the value of his painstaking toil, has awarded one of its first prizes to the author.

Castellum Scurial—the strong fortress and lordship of Lescure—was brought as part of her *dot* by Constance of Toulouse to her husband King Robert, and was given by him to his old teacher, the learned monk Cerbert, who ascended the pontifical throne as Sylvester II. in 999. Sergius IV. granted the fief in 1012 to the first seigneur of Lescure—Védian I.—for an annual rent of 10 sols to be paid to the bishops of Albi, who were entrusted with its collection. From this date Canon Craule has recorded the history of the fief and its owners down to the present day. It is interesting to observe how the Popes cared for and protected this tiny territory when any necessity arose for their intervention. Their various bulls are given in full. Innocent III. confirmed the possession of Lescure to its seigneurs, and nominated, as arbitrator, of any difference between them and the inhabitants, their metropolitan the Archbishop of Bourges. Various privileges were granted to the free tenants, who thereupon swore fidelity to the Papal see. Clement IV. confirmed their rights in 1268. John XXII. in 1328 forbade the seneschal of Toulouse to construct a new bastide, or free town, in the King's interest, in the neighbourhood of Lescure, to the prejudice of the vassal of Rome. Sicard III., with some other nobles, incurred a sentence of banishment from the realm and the confiscation of their goods in 1366, when Lescure was given by the King to his chancellor. But Sicard appealed to Rome, and Gregory XI. effected a reconciliation between the Crown and his liegeman, who had, however, to pay a heavy fine. This so crippled his resources and means of defending his castle, that Lescure soon afterwards fell into the hands of the English, who retained possession until driven out by Duguesclin.

Pierre II. (1422-1450) strongly fortified the place against the attacks of the Free Companies—originally launched against the country by the Black Prince—but it was taken and held for three years by Rodrigo de Villandranda, who also captured Albi (1436) on behalf of Robert, of the house of the Dolphins of Auvergne and Bishop of Chartres, at that time the competitor of Bernard de Casilhac for possession of the see of Albi. Lescure was captured by the Huguenot forces in 1581, and held by them for four years, during which time they ravaged all the country around Albi, but failed to take that city. They burnt the castle on leaving it. From fear that the place might again serve as a fortress for these wandering bands of brigands, the authorities at Albi obtained permission to demolish the walls and fortifications surrounding the village. The principal gateway with its machiolations still survives. The castle was rebuilt and stood until the destroying hand of the Revolution levelled it to the ground in 1793. Portions of the hall, a round and a square tower, are all that is left standing. In the sixteenth century the estate ranked second in the district of Albigeois in point of value, being estimated to be worth £1,000,000 of present money. It was surpassed only by the neighbouring property of Castelnau de Bonafous. The owners—there was only one break in the direct line of male descent—appear to have been at all times on good and friendly terms with their vassals, by whom they were faithfully served. The village consuls knew also how to preserve the rights already acquired by the peasantry. One youthful Marquis—this title had been granted to the seigneurs by Louis XIV.—attempted in 1763 to restore the old privilege of compelling the inhabitants to bake their bread at the castle hearth, but speedily gave up his claim at their remonstrance. The same Marquis afterwards dissipated his fortune by gambling, and died overwhelmed by debt in 1785. His son Louis-Marie, known as the Saint of Poitou, was the celebrated royalist general in the war of La Vendée. On the very same day that he fell mortally wounded on the field of battle, his estates at Lescure were wrongfully put up to auction in accordance with the order of the Convention decreeing the sale of the goods of the *émigrés*. His widow was compelled to follow the fortune of the Vendean army, and her sad adventures are graphically described in her memoirs. In 1802 she married Louis de la Rochejaquelein, and eventually succeeded in regaining the greater part of her property as legal heir to her late husband, whose children died in infancy. In 1846 Lescure was parcelled out and sold, but a saving clause prevented the new proprietors from ever assuming the title or name of this ancient fief.

Full details are given of the three churches within the commune.

S. Michael was a priory of the Benedictines of Caillac as early as the eleventh century. It is built of stone in form of a Latin cross, without aisles and with a square tower at the intersection of the transepts. Its fine Romanesque doorway was erected about 1159. S. Peter, originally the chapel of the castle, was built in the fourteenth century, and is of brick and vaulted. It contains the tombs of the seigneurs, and was given by one of them in 1600 for use as a parish church. From this date S. Michael was abandoned and served henceforth as the cemetery chapel. The pilgrimage Church of Notre Dame de la Drèche existed in 1185, and became a parish church a few years later. Built on the confines of the territories of Lescure, Albi, and Castelnau, its position led to many attempts by the lords of the latter barony to claim jurisdiction over it. Their claims were put an end to in 1635 by the owner of Lescure allowing them to open a small door in the western wall, so that their retainers might enter the church without having to pass over their neighbours' land.

A plan of the village dated 1652 is given, but a protest must be made against the placing on it of a sketch of the Cathedral of Albi as it stands to-day. This is apt to mislead. The great Church of S. Cecily, till the middle of this century, presented a very different appearance from that of its exterior outline now. It is also a matter of regret that the paper of this edition is of such a flimsy kind. On page 120 the author has erred in stating that the incursion of the Routiers into Languedoc in 1435 was commanded in person by the Prince of Wales. The Black Prince died in 1376. With these exceptions we have nothing but praise for this interesting work. The story is unfolded in a style both lucid and eloquent. Canon Craule passes judgment on the facts which he records in a simple and conscientious manner, and with a sincere desire to arrive at the truth. His statements are proved by sound documentary evidence, and he is to be congratulated on his painstaking search of proofs from original sources, and not for citing second-hand evidence for his history.

R. T.

The Crusades : The Story of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem.

By T. A. ARCHER and C. L. KINGSFORD. Story of the Nations Series. London : T. A. Fisher Unwin. Pp. xxxii-467. Maps and Illustrations.

THIS book appears under the joint names of Mr. Archer and Mr. Kingsford. When ill-health had made it impossible for Mr. Archer to complete what he had undertaken, the work of Mr. Kingsford, who was called in to assist, was found to be necessary in so many places and so important in its nature, that it would have been difficult to divide the responsibility of even a single chapter. There is, however, no want of coherence in consequence. Indeed the result of their joint labours is a volume of such sterling merit as we should have been justified in expecting from authors of such repute. It is well arranged, and clearly, if not brightly or very effectively written. It supplies a large amount of reliable information which has been carefully collected and considered from the original authorities. Though we may not be able to agree with all the opinions expressed by the authors—such for instance as that put forward in the paragraph describing the rise of the Popes to be “the spiritual heads of Christendom,” on p. 24—we are nowhere pained by intemperate language, whilst we are in many instances gratified by the views taken upon certain points which are little accustomed to fair or kindly treatment.

The mere mention of the Crusades carries, to most of us, a whole host of romantic associations. From our youth we have been familiar with the picturesque figure of Peter the Hermit, preaching and exhorting the knights and rough multitudes of soldiers and yeomen to rescue the Holy Sepulchre from the hands of the Infidel, and answered by the rapturous cries of “*Dieu le veut.*” We have been so fascinated by the brilliant colouring of a work like “*The Talisman*,” as to forget to think about historical accuracy. Men like Godfrey de Bouillon, St. Bernard of Clairvaux, Pope Urban II., Richard I. and Edward I. of England, and St. Louis of France, all rise pleasantly out of the dull recollections of our school histories as heroes that we have loved.

Thus the volume before us may be said to have a twofold claim upon our attention. It appeals to our sentiment, and it satisfies the craving for wider and more certain information. Nor do we know of any work which, in equal compass, treats so reliably and comprehensively the subject of the Crusades. At the same time, as the sub-title, “*The Story of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem*,” clearly indicates only those Crusades which are Crusades in the proper

sense of the word, have been dealt with, because "it is through the history of the Kingdom of Jerusalem that the true character and importance of the Crusades can alone be discerned." (Preface.)

With this limitation, Mr. Archer and Mr. Kingsford's volume covers the entire subject, tracing briefly the rise of pilgrimages to the Holy Places, and showing the necessity of defending the pilgrims from robbery and insult, and so leading naturally on to the series of expeditions undertaken in behalf of the pilgrims and of the Holy Sepulchre. As already pointed out, only those expeditions which were connected with the origin, maintenance, and fall of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, are dealt with in detail: those which frittered themselves away on side-issues, whilst numbered and chronicled as Crusades, receive but a passing notice. It so happens, however, that the Crusades here chosen, on the principle indicated, for fuller treatment, are just the ones which, owing to their connection with English history, are most generally interesting to English readers. On the first, which resulted in the foundation of "the great colony of the Middle Ages"—the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem—went the hapless, easy-going Robert, surnamed Curthose, Duke of Normandy. The third is memorable for the part taken in it by our own Richard I., the lion-hearted Plantagenet, with whose name "Arabian mothers long awed their infants to silence." The eighth presents all the characteristics of a forlorn hope in the utter devotion of its saintly leader, Louis IX. of France, and in the failure of his labours. It is marked out for the eyes of Englishmen by the presence of Edward I. We shall be pardoned for quoting here the paragraph sketching the character of St. Louis:

Louis was perhaps the most truly religious king that ever lived. His whole life was a prayer, his whole aim to do God's will. His horror of sin was deep and unaffected. "Would you rather be a leper, or commit a deadly sin?" he once asked Joinville. The seneschal bluntly blurted out that he would rather commit thirty deadly sins than have his body covered with leprosy. Louis reproved his choice, for the leprosy of the body would disappear at death, but the leprosy of sin lasts hereafter. Everything about the king is charming, from the "As you like it" scene, where he administered justice beneath the great oak at Vincennes, to his washing of the feet of the poor in imitation of Christ. . . . But with all this he was not wealsing or do-nothing. All men trusted him, and the English barons accepted him as arbiter in their disputes with Henry, knowing that he would never seek his own advantage from quarrels among his neighbours. But that which most struck his contemporaries was his extreme sobriety of language; Joinville, who was with him constantly for two and twenty years, declares that he never heard him utter a word of blasphemy, though this was the commonest fault of the age. Pp. 392-4.

In addition to the chapters describing the march of events, there

are others devoted to accounts of the land and its people, the life of the people, arms, armour, and armaments. Due prominence is also accorded to the two great military orders, the Templars and the Hospitallers.

The concluding chapter is given up to an interesting estimate of the results of the Crusades. To their influence the authors attribute the growth of the Italian seaports, and of the power of the Popes as the heads of a united Christendom. The Crusades acted as combining and disintegrating forces, tending on the one hand to centralise power in the hands of royal officials, and on the other, to raise the status of the lower orders by relieving them of the oppression of their feudal lords. By these united expeditions political intercourse between nations was begun and fostered. Once more the West learnt lessons from the ancient East, the standard of comfort was raised, geography, astronomy, and other sciences were benefited, whilst a new and romantic literature sprang up, taking for its theme the deeds of great warriors, and deriving much of its colouring from the stately richness and glow of Eastern fable.

The Crusades were essentially holy wars. As the authors point out "the war was God's warfare, to be waged in His behalf for the recovery of the heritage of Christ, the land which Our Blessed Lord Himself had trod," pp. 446-7. Other motives doubtless entered in to mar the glory of this high ideal, but there can be no doubt that the great mass of the Crusaders came at some time or other under its spell. If such was the inspiration of the Crusades, their main objects were no less praiseworthy. The first practical end in view was, of course, the restoration of the Holy Places to Christian rule; another and a secondary object, clear only perhaps to such men as Urban II., was the defence of Eastern Europe against the danger of Turkish conquests. The first object was achieved quickly, and then gradually failed. The second, a point of more general and lasting importance to the world at large, was certainly the great achievement of the Crusades. In this we are pleased to note the agreement of our authors with the opinions expressed by such writers as Cardinal Newman and Mr. Sharon Turner.

It was an imperative necessity for the welfare of Christendom that the advance of the Turks—which during the eleventh century had made such rapid progress—should be stayed. The first Crusade rolled back the tide of conquest from the walls of Constantinople, and the wars of the next two centuries gave full employment to the superfluous energies of Islam. . . . The importance of this for Western civilisation cannot be over-estimated. Had the capture of Constantinople by Mohammed II. been anticipated by three centuries, it is impossible that the Turkish conquests should have been confined to the peninsula of the Balkans and the valley

of the Lower Danube. A new influx of barbarism, at the very moment when the gloom of the Dark Ages was breaking, might have been as ruinous to the social and political life of Western Europe, as it was to that of Western Asia. Pp. 449, 450.

The value of the work is still further enhanced by a copious index, genealogical tables, maps, and fifty-eight illustrations, fully explained in a descriptive list. That these illustrations are appropriate in their nature we are only too ready to admit; but we are again bound to record our dissatisfaction that the general *quality* of the reproductions is so poor, and so far short of the merits of the series of works in which they appear.

J. B. M.

Sir William Gregory, K.C.M.G., formerly Member of Parliament, and sometime Governor of Ceylon. An Autobiography. Edited by Lady GREGORY. London: Murray. 1894. Pp. viii-407.

THESE memoirs were written by Sir William Gregory for the benefit of his wife and son, and apparently were not intended by him for publication; but his widow has given them to the world in the hope that thereby his name "may be kept alive a little longer, and that for his sake a friendly hand may sometimes in the future be held out to his boy." Sir William was born in 1817, and was educated at Harrow and Oxford, where he acquired a taste for the classics which never left him; a taste which was fostered by the kindly and friendly influence of Lord Wellesley, several of whose letters are published in this volume. In 1842 he took his seat in the House of Commons as member for Dublin, but only retained it for five years. He was not again elected till 1857, from which year till 1872 he was the representative of Galway. He resigned his seat on being appointed Governor of Ceylon, a post which had been the object of his ambition for many years. He proved himself to be a thoroughly able administrator and did much to improve the condition of the colony, and to promote the welfare of the natives; of whom in many ways he had a high opinion. They on their part appreciated his efforts; and his memory lived among them after he had resigned his office. He had a proof of this when he revisited the island some years later, for a native woman, a nurse in the household of a gentleman he knew, went over a hundred miles to see him, saying to her employer, "He is our god: he is the god of my people." It is a pity that with this mutual good feeling he should only have retained the Governorship for five years. And whatever may be thought of some

portions of these memoirs, the part relating to Ceylon is certainly of more than family interest.

L'Ame d'un Missionnaire. Vie du Père Nempon, Missionnaire Apostolique du Tonkin Occidental. Par l'Abbé GUSTAVE MONTENNIS, Professeur de Philosophie à l'Institution de Notre Dame-des-Dunes. Paris: Victor Retaux et fils, Libraires-Editeurs, 82 Rue Bonaparte. 1895.

THE letter of Cardinal Rampolla granting to the author the special blessing of the Holy Father, the many approbations from Archbishops, Bishops, and other persons in high ecclesiastical rank and the distinction which the book received from the Académie Française more than sufficiently prove that the Abbé Montennis has given us a work of extraordinary merit and of the greatest value.

The volume, containing about 400 pages, narrates in a most entertaining manner, the life of Père Nempon, missionary in Tonkin. The first half of the book describes Fr. Nempon's early life at home, his years of study and preparation at the Petit Séminaire et Hazenbrouck, the Grand Séminaire de Cambrai, and at the Séminaire des Mission Etrangères in Paris; the solemnity of his ordination, and his departure for Tonkin. The second half of the book deals with Fr. Nempon's missionary life in Tonkin. It contains a great amount of very interesting information about the country, its people, its religion and government, its political relation to France. Professor Montennis has wonderfully succeeded in giving life and action to this part of his history. A very vivid description is given of the missionary's labour, journeys, success and disappointments, of his moments of joy and suffering, and his illness and early death are written in a most touching manner.

Fr. Nempon's life was short. Ordained priest 28th February 1885, he died the 13th December 1889. Yet his life was that of a true saint and martyr. In all his sayings and actions we find that that simplicity of mind, that gentleness and nobility of character, that love for God, and the desire to work and offer himself for the good of his fellow-creatures, which mark the saints of God. His motto was: "Dieu et les âmes"; his one wish: "Vivre au Tonkin et y mourir."

Primogeniture: A short history of its development in various countries and its practical effects. By EVELYN CECIL, M.A., of the Inner Temple, Barrister-at-Law, and a member of the London School Board. London: John Murray. 1895.

THIS is a well-timed and well-written essay upon a subject of immediate interest. The abolition of the law of Primogeniture by which, on intestacy, real property passes exclusively to the eldest son, or his heir-at-law, is being pressed forward by a certain school of political reformers, or at all events, innovators, who desire that, when there is no will or settlement, realty should go the way of personalty, that is, be divided among the next of kin, according to the Statute of Distributions. This change is opposed by a Conservative school of legislation, not, however, necessarily co-extensive with the Conservative party, who contend that the excessive *morcellement* of land which would arise under this arrangement would be highly objectionable both from an agricultural and a social point of view. The danger, as Mr. Cecil points out, is probably more imaginary than real, as long as the power of devising and settling land is left intact. But if the existing presumption of the law in favour of Primogeniture is to be altered, Mr. Cecil prefers a middle course between absolute abolition and absolute retention. He would adopt, in its essential features, the system of the *Auerbeurecht*, at present in operation in many States of the German Empire, by which, on intestacy, an estate devolves undivided to one child or heir, with fair shares to the others. Thus, suppose an inheritance worth £20,000 to be divided among three children. Then, for the purpose of calculating the children's shares, the inheritance will be assumed to be perhaps worth only £15,000, instead of £20,000; so that the calculation makes each child's share worth £5000 ($£15,000 \div 3$) only. Accordingly two of the children will receive shares of £5000 each, and the *Auerbe* will not only receive this £5000 share, but also the difference between the actual and assumed values of the inheritance (£20,000—£15,000), or, in this instance, £5000 more. A compromise on some such lines, Mr. Cecil believes, would combine the advantages while avoiding the evils of both extremes. It would do what the intestate would probably have desired to see done. It would prevent the excessive division of land, with its alleged mischiefs. It would protect testators from such an *in terrorem* action of public opinion as exists in America, where, owing to the presumption of law in favour of equal division on intestacy, nobody dares devise his estate to his eldest son. In support of this thesis

Mr. Cecil, in the course of 200 and odd quarto pages, gives a succinct and lucid account of the history and present position of the contrasted principles of Primogeniture and equal division in the United Kingdom, Europe, America, the British Colonies, Asiatic Turkey, and India. Apart from its controversial purpose, Mr. Cecil's treatise is in itself valuable and interesting in the highest degree to lawyer and layman alike. His reading has been extensive, accurate, and up to date—he refers to fully 150 books, not skimmed, but evidently examined with care—and he has reproduced his material in an arrangement and style that are attractive and easy to follow, with an occasional tendency to picturesque writing even, which is not substantially marred by one or two rather oddly mixed metaphors. Altogether this is an uncommonly good book of its kind.

Napoléon III. avant L'Empire. Par H. THIRRIA. Tome Premier. Deuxième Édition. Paris: Librairie Plon. 1895.

THIS large book of 477 pages consists to a great extent of extracts from old newspapers; and when we consider the curiosities and varieties of public opinion on the different stages in the very remarkable career of its subject, we cannot deny that newspaper-cuttings well selected, as are these for the most part, form an admirable material of illustration. Nevertheless, "Opinions of the Press," as they are technically termed, whether they be on matters personal, or on matters political, or puffs of books, soaps, or patent medicines, provide a literary food of which it is quite possible to grow weary. But it must not be supposed that the author has concocted his book solely by means of the paste-pot and the scissors. On the contrary, he has enriched it with a great number of exceedingly interesting and valuable letters, and he has added a further attraction to it in quotations from the writings of poets and authors who have occasionally made contemporary French politics their themes. Excellent footnotes give the authorities for most of his statements, and they frequently contain carefully-chosen extracts from books bearing on his subject. Nor is the work at all wanting in valuable original writing; and, best of all, while the author is a great admirer of Napoleon III., he is by no means blind to the deficiencies in his character. Indeed he freely admits that, with all his talents and virtues, he was not made to be the ruler of a great country, and that his reign proved a misfortune to France.

One of the first things which strikes the reader of this history of

Napoleon III. is the devotion and attention with which his mother superintended his education. Every Saturday she gave up the entire day to going over his work of the past week with him. Charles Louis Napoléon Bonaparte was a precocious boy; he talked little, and, perhaps, the lad's chief defect may have been his indecision. When he was on the threshold of manhood, Chateaubriand said that he was a studious, well-informed young man, virtuous, and naturally reserved. The author passes over very lightly the part he took, as a youth, in the revolution in Italy, when the cause which he then espoused was suppressed by the papal troops; but there may have been no need to dwell upon his early follies. After this adventure, and his escape from Italy in disguise, he and his mother lived for some time in Switzerland. At the age of twenty-four he became heir to the Imperial dignities, and meanwhile, without any special instigation on his part, Bonapartism came more and more into fashion in France, under the influence of politicians, poets, and playwrights. At the request of Casimir Perier, the statue of Napoleon I. was replaced on the famous column in the Place Vendôme, and, more important still, the body of that Emperor was brought to France and deposited with extraordinary pomp and great popular demonstrations in the magnificent mausoleum prepared for it at the Hôtel des Invalides.

At about the age of twenty-eight, Louis Napoleon over-estimated, or rather, perhaps, anticipated, the development of *le culte Bonapartiste*, and he imagined that he had only to present himself at some large garrison to be surrounded by all the troops crying "Vive l'Empereur!" He selected Strasbourg for this purpose, and promptly learned that he had been much mistaken, the result being a miserable and most humiliating failure. The *Times* called it an insurrection as ridiculous as it was imprudent, and the *Standard* said that the only effect of this absurd attempt had been to strengthen the government of Louise Philippe. The French authorities shipped off the would-be emperor to America, and it was said that he gave his word of honour never again to set his foot in Europe; but this the author most emphatically denies. He had not been in America more than six or seven months when his mother wrote to inform him that she was about to undergo a very dangerous operation; so he returned to her side in Switzerland, and she died not very long afterwards. In 1838, the French Government demanded his expulsion from that country; and, in order to avoid involving it in a war, he went voluntarily to London. We are told much that is interesting about his studies, literary work, and political aspirations, during his residence in this country;

but we English readers could wish to have heard more about his social life in London, the part which he took in the Eglinton tournament, his becoming a special constable during the Chartist riots, and many other matters connected with both his first and his second long residence in England; things which are scarcely mentioned, or even left entirely unnoticed, in these pages.

When he was thirty-two, he made another attempt to summon the French army to the support of "the nephew of my uncle," as he was fond of calling himself until laughed out of it by the comic papers; and, for this purpose, he hired an English steamboat and went to Boulogne with about fifty followers, but the soldiers there would have nothing to say to him; he was arrested, tried for treason, and condemned to perpetual imprisonment in the fortress of Ham. Again the English newspapers derided him; the *Morning Post* said that he was a maniac, and the *Sun* called him a fool. After spending some half-dozen years in his prison, whiling away the time with study, the cultivation of flowers, riding in the courtyard, receiving visitors, and writing innumerable letters, he managed, with the help of his doctor and his valet, to escape in the disguise of a workman and to return to London. The few pages describing his flight and the ingenuity with which Dr. Conneau deceived the governor of the fortress by putting a lay-figure into his bed and pretending that he was ill, are very entertaining.

During his second residence in London he wrote his "*Rêveries Politiques*," and elaborated a plan for joining the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans by a canal—not through Panama, but through Nicaragua. When the French Revolution broke out in 1848 he was quite unprepared to profit by it; but by-and-by he was allowed to return to France, and soon afterwards he was nominated as a candidate for the National Assembly. The excitement was intense. The French newspapers discussed his candidature, always with eagerness, often with animosity, still oftener with ridicule. No gross caricature, with pen or pencil, no sarcasm, no ill-natured aspersion on his character was withheld. Nor were the English newspapers much less severe upon him. The *Morning Herald* said that in all the many and curious positions in life which this Adonis of forty years old had occupied, whether as an officer, a writer, a Swiss subject, or when presenting himself at Boulogne as emperor, with his tame eagle, his *cortège* of mistresses, and his legion of cooks, he was always and equally ridiculous. After various electoral adventures—getting elected, resigning, and afterwards being elected for five departments at once, he became one of six candidates for a much more exalted post, namely, the Presidency of the French

Republic. And now came success! He obtained about twice as many votes as all his five rivals made between them, "*Ce n'est pas une élection, dit M. de Girardin, c'est une acclamation.*" It was much more than that. As the author says in a closing paragraph, the people, without admitting, or even being aware of it, had elected, not a President of the Republic, but an Emperor.

The Deserts of Southern France. By S. BARING GOULD, M.A.
2 vols. London: Methuen & Co. 1894.

THIS is an interesting book. It is difficult to say to what class it belongs, for it is neither a guide-book, nor a history of a province, nor a book of travels, nor the advertisement of a new health-resort, but something of each; and, generally speaking, it contains what would be the most readable and desirable chapters of each. Perhaps it would be best described as a collection of carefully considered and carefully written and sufficiently well illustrated magazine articles on the topics of interest connected with a little-known but romantic district in southern France. It is such a book as we should be delighted to find in the reading-room of an hotel in the district—the very thing in which to look up interesting facts about what we have seen during the day or to prepare for the next excursion; but none the less it will be found pleasant enough reading by untravelled folks, and, in the present dearth of English literature on the subject, a useful addition to the library.

Mr. Baring Gould is an admirable guide; he is never in want of reasons to explain facts, and is always able to make himself clear to his readers. He begins with a lucid statement of geological statistics, and afterwards he introduces the reader to the latest theories about caves and cave-dwellings, pre-historic deposits, the first inhabitants of Southern Gaul, glass-castles, the natural history of truffles, dolmen-builders, bastides and the architecture of the domed churches peculiar to that part of France. He is a man who always has a most definite opinion, seldom admits of doubt, and one finds little difficulty in understanding either his descriptions or deductions. As we have said, he is an excellent guide, authoritative, confident and unhesitating, ready to pilot his reader along underground streams or to explain to him the manufacture of Roquefort cheese, equally willing and able to instruct as to the character and acquirements of the reindeer-hunter of the paleolithic period, the *routier* of the Middle Ages or the peasant of modern France. It is all very

fascinating; and, whether acquainted with the subject or not, the careful reader will agree in most matters with the author, for Mr. Baring Gould has evidently been at great pains to master his subject, to choose the most plausible explanation and to make it easily intelligible.

Perhaps the book would have been more convincing if the author, before giving his solutions, had pointed out the difficulties to be solved and said something of the theories that failed to solve them. He himself is one who has seen, and therefore believes, either one way or another. It is only natural he should have made up his mind. Readers who have to take things altogether on faith will always do so more readily when their faith is asked in the form of a choice between a satisfactory theory or a bad one.

As a suggestion concerning a possible use of certain caves and series of caves in the days immediately before the Hundred Years War, may they not have been, in some cases, Charter-Houses, the hermit-dwellings of Carthusian monks? This would suggest a use for the basins cut in slabs of stone at the entrance of some of the caves, the meaning of which is obscure. The rations of each monk were supplied from the common kitchen, and, where there could be no hatch at which the monk could call every morning, there is little doubt a lay-brother would daily deposit the allowance in some receptacle at the entrance to the cell.

Mr. Baring Gould devotes the best part of a volume to the history of the region. Slight as is his sketch, it reads like the chapters of a romance—not because the author draws upon his imagination, but because of the picturesque events of the history. Is it not strange that no one in this country has devoted himself to an exact, full, and interesting study of the English occupation of Aquitaine? Surely it deserves more attention than a few pages in our larger histories or a few paragraphs in our text-books. Mr. Baring Gould's book shows us that there are documents enough in existence to make the work possible, though it would take much time and skill and labour to piece the bright-coloured fragments together and construct a true and intelligible picture of such troubled times. The outline in the present volume is admirable as far as it goes, and for the most part sufficiently true, though the author is always a partisan and has the true novelist's like or dislike of his characters. Not that he is unable to see the good points of an adversary—he can do so very well when he tries to do it—but that when interested in Henry II. he calls St. Thomas-a-Becket “an insolent and an ostentatiously ascetic prelate,” whilst, if interested in the saint, he would doubtless find equally hard words for the king.

A romantic episode of the history is the crusade of the "Capuciati," or the brotherhood of peacemakers, against the free-companies. Our sympathies are enlisted strongly in the manly enterprise of the peasants, and we feel regret at their rapid and complete failure after striking initial success. Is there much known of the effort in 1229 to establish a similar military order for the same object and almost with the same name? The brothers and chevaliers "de la Paix et de la Foi" were organised by a few bishops with Améreus, Archbishop of Auch, at their head, and in 1230 received the confirmation of Pope Gregory IX. The Prologue of their rule* waxes eloquent at the waste of a fertile country and the afflictions of poor Aquitaine, where innocent people "vulnerantur, lapidantur, jugulantur, spoliata fluminibus submerguntur" by parricides, assassins, and thievish villains, and the writer complains sadly that there is no king or priest to cry out "Qui Domini est accingetur meum." The rules are simple and well adapted to a mixed congregation of peasants, artisans, squires and petty nobles. The habit is white, of any honest stuff, "de panno scilicet qui dicitur Estamfort albus, vel de alio blanqueto, vel camelino, sive burello," &c., there is a good deal of fasting; prayers of the simplest form—a certain number of Pater-nosters for each of the recognised hours; strict obedience and a certain amount of silence. Married people are admitted, but those who enter unmarried are not allowed to marry afterwards. It is probably this rule, and another which forbade the holding of any property except in common, that unfitted the congregation for very wide acceptance. It had only a short existence, for we find it dissolved in 1261. We heartily recommend Mr. Baring Gould's book to our readers.

Mémoires du Chevalier De Mautort, Capitaine au Régiment d'Austrasie, Chevalier de l'Ordre Royal et Militaire de Saint-Louis (1752-1802). Publiés par son PETIT-NEVEU LE BON TILLETTE DE CLERMONT-TONNERRE. Avec un portrait en héliogravure. Paris: Librairie Plon. 1895.

THE high-roads of history, in the form of standard works devoted to that great subject, are well known and well trodden; its lanes and bypaths are less familiar and less explored, but it is by following these that the historian is often led to the discovery of

* *Vide* "Voyage Littéraire de deux Religieux Bénédictins," 1717, per seconde partie, p. 23.

hitherto unsuspected riches, or at least to the finding of missing gems in the jewels of the historical treasury. The student, again, of peoples or periods ought not to limit his reading to the annals of kings and queens, statesmen and generals, but should endeavour to form some idea of the life of more ordinary mortals from the pages of much humbler memoirs. "*Les Memoires du Chevalier De Mautort*" is the kind of book which is likely to interest both the writers and the readers of the history of the second half of the eighteenth century in France. It consists of the autobiography and recollections of an officer, of no special celebrity, in an infantry regiment, during the reigns of Louis XV. and Louis XVI.

When De Mautort's father died he left each of his sons about £600; and, after paying duties, they found themselves possessed of an income of between £20 and £25 apiece. Louis Francois was sent to a school kept by one of the chaplains of the cathedral at Amiens. He calls it an "infernal place," and tells us that the priest-schoolmaster was guilty of "unequalled brutality," dealing blows with his ferule with little discrimination. Afterwards he went to a large college at Juilly, kept by the Fathers of the Oratory; and he gives this establishment the highest praise. Of course the boys were always under "la surveillance" of a prefect, who never left them either at their studies or their recreations; and this shows that the practice in question is not specially of Jesuit origin, as some erroneously suppose. At fifteen, he went to a tutor to study mathematics with a view to passing for the Artillery; but he had no aptitude for that science; so he gave it up and tried to get into the Line. Just at that time, owing to some alterations which had been made in the military service, there were scarcely any vacancies for subalterns, so the colonels, to oblige their friends, were admitting relations of officers as volunteers into their regiments, with the understanding that they were to receive commissions as vacancies occurred; and De Mautort, at the age of sixteen, joined a regiment under these conditions, at Perpignan, near the Spanish frontier. As wine there cost only a sou a bottle, there was a good deal of drunkenness, and another disagreeable experience of the young volunteer was a very cold welcome.

His description of life at Perpignan in those days is most interesting; but when he goes on to say that the religion of the people was still burdened with superstitions, which had been contracted while that part of France had been under Spanish rule, he loses our sympathy, especially when he gives as an example of these superstitions the custom of a monk, nude to the waist, walking in a procession on Good Friday, while four other monks gave him strokes with disciplines. Whatever objection may be made to this penitential exercise, we fail to see how

it can justly be called "superstitious." Before long, his regiment was sent to Corsica, where he was under fire for the first time. In the course of the campaign there, some soldiers pillaged a Franciscan convent, bayoneted three friars, and burned the church. Here, again, the priests and the monks had great power over the "superstitious" people; and it is hinted that they often abused it. From Corsica the regiment went to Metz, and the portion of the book describing that fortress and the life there is interesting, particularly when we consider its subsequent history during the Franco-German war of only a quarter of a century ago. Brest was the next fortress occupied by the regiment; and the account of the prison there, and the treatment of the prisoners, is of special value. During the stay of some Spaniards at Brest, the author had an opportunity of hearing of, and to some extent observing also, the differences between their customs and those of the French. When their priests entered a café, the Spanish officers rose from their seats, overwhelmed them with civility, and kissed their hands or their cassocks. The French "laughed at all this without having any desire to imitate it." The Spaniards, on the other hand, regarded the French officers, "although professing like themselves the Catholic religion, as infinitely more dangerous than those of a different faith." So, at least, says the author.

From Brest, De Mautort's regiment embarked for India. On the voyage thither they had the "ill-luck" to encounter Admiral Rodney. Several of the French ships were taken, and the one in which De Mautort was sailing barely escaped. Another curious incident of this voyage was the superstitious—here we admit the superstition—practice of whipping a cabin-boy, in a dead calm, as a sacrifice to Æolus, in order to raise the wind. As the whole crew solemnly defiled past the poor little innocent victim, who was bound to a capstan and prepared for punishment in Etonian fashion, every one gave him some strokes with a cat o' nine tails. There is a spirited account of the battle of Santiago, and various other adventures enlivened the way to India. As to his time in India itself, it was from end to end one of excitement and incident. It comprised no less than six campaigns, and its description occupies about a hundred and twenty pages. Nor are personal details wanting. Of these, that De Mautort was severely wounded in action may be given as a passive instance, and that he bought a slave, as an active. At last came peace, and he sold his tent, his horse, and some of his other goods to his new friends and *quondam* enemies, the English officers.

In 1785 he was back again in Paris. In 1789 symptoms of the

coming Revolution began to manifest themselves, and we read much about "les Sans-Culottes," "Liberté, Egalité, Fraternité," and the "souveraineté du Peuple." In 1790, De Mautort received the decoration of the cross of Saint-Louis, which he naïvely tells us he had been asking for in vain since 1783. Although pleased with it at first, his gratification ceased the following year when he observed that it was given to nearly everybody who chose to beg for it. The pages telling the story of the Revolution are of the greatest interest. De Mautort retired from the French army just before it began. Shortly after the Revolution broke out he crossed the frontier in order to be away from France in her distracted condition; and he then entered the army of Picardy. This he soon left, and the rest of the book, with the exception of the two last chapters, describes his various adventures during ten miserable years as an *émigré*. The last few pages tell us about his return to France. The writer's tone may not always be exactly to our taste; the narrative may here and there be a trifle tedious; the style may occasionally be rather commonplace; but the book contains much that is interesting, a great deal of it casts a valuable side-light on the history of its period, and the general reader who glances through it will find a fair sprinkling of entertaining passages.

Les Bénédictins de Saint-Germain-des-Près et les Savants
Lyonnais d'après leur correspondance inédite. Par M.
L'ABBÉ JEAN BAPTISTE VANEL. Paris: A. Picard. Lyon: E.
Vitte. 1894.

THE learned and enthusiastic Vicaire of St. Germain-des-Près who has given to the light this new volume of the Letters of the Maurist Benedictines has not, perhaps, produced a book quite so interesting as those which have appeared in recent years from the pen of M. Valéry, M. Alphonse Dantier, M. Jadard, or M. E. de Broglie. But there is quite enough matter and novelty in it to deserve a welcome from all who venerate the names of Mabillon, Ruinart, D'Achery, and their *confrères*. The editor, in his researches among the enormous collections of Benedictine papers which exist in the Bibliothèque Nationale of Paris, has confined himself chiefly to such letters of the monks of St. Germain as have reference to Lyons. The first letter of the series is one of Dom Mabillon, hitherto unpublished, addressed to Mgr. de Saint-Georges, Archbishop of Lyons (March 27, 1707), on the subject of the succes-

sion of the bishops of that See in the eleventh century. The second chapter gives a very interesting letter of Père Théophile Raynaud, the celebrated Jesuit, who passed the greater part of his life in the Jesuit College at Lyons. This letter is, however, dated from Rome, 1650, when P. Raynaud professed in the Gregorian University—and its subject is the edition of “St. Anselm,” brought out by Dom D’Achery in 1648. He hopes that the Benedictine superiors will put all possible pressure on that father to go on producing similar works. There are several other letters of this militant Jesuit, in which, among other things, we find allusions to his book against De Launoy on the Scapular of Mount Carmel, and his attack on Father Papebrock, his own *confrère*. Further on (p. 79) Mgr. de Montmorin, Archbishop of Vienne, a Cistercian monk, writes several letters to Mabillon and Ruinart, consulting them on points of history and charging them with the purchase of books in Paris. There is, in one of them, an allusion to the holy death of King James II. It is well known that the Duke of Perth became connected by ties of intimate friendship with Mabillon and Saint-Germain-des-Près, and we can, therefore, easily understand to what the Archbishop is replying when he thus writes to Dom Ruinart (September 27, 1702):—

I have not the slightest doubt that God is glorifying by miracles the late King of England; he has merited this by the resignation with which he has borne all the crosses sent by God to purify so great a soul. If his life is well written, as I do not doubt it will be, it will greatly edify the Church (p. 79).

There is an excellent bibliographical chapter on the Anisson family—the Lyons booksellers who brought out Dom Montfaucon’s magnificent edition of “St. Athanasius,” and who were appointed by the influence of Saint Germain to the post of printers to the king in Paris; a post which they held till the last of them perished on the scaffold at the Revolution. One of the most striking figures in the book is that of Dom Claude Estionnet, whom Mabillon calls “Stephanotius noster.” Dom Estionnet has a distinction which is perhaps unique even among the Maurists. He left fifty MS. volumes all ready for the press, and has not printed a single one. His researches, his literary journeys, his troubles with a commendatory abbot, and his excellent relations with his own superiors are brought out by many letters, and numerous notes by the editor. Dom Thuillier, the staunch advocate of the Constitution *Unigenitus*, has many new pages devoted to him, in which fresh contributions are made to the understanding of the various phases of the Jansenist controversy. There is only one allusion, as far as we can find,

to Fénelon ; it is in a letter of Dom Fillastre, who writes with much spirit and some wrong-headedness, to Dom Massuet, the producer of the great edition of "St. Irenæus ;" but all that he has to say is that "Mgr. de Cambrai wrote him [a certain Bishop of Bayeux] a letter *toute spirituelle*, that hides a delicate censure under what looks like hearty praise" (p. 313).

Un Diplomate à Londres. CHARLES GAVARD. Paris : E. Plon, Nourrit et Cie. 1895.

THIS volume consists of a collection of letters and notes written by a former First Secretary to the French Embassy in London, who took up his residence in Albert Gate immediately after the fall of the second Empire, and remained there until the end of 1877. These collected letters were addressed during that period to friends and relatives in France, and, as is natural, are filled with many interesting impressions of our institutions and public men. M. Gavard appears to have been a close observer, to have met all the important individuals of the day, examined all the intricacies of our social structure, and judged very justly our merits and defects. Consequently this volume is of considerable interest to English readers, and will have, it may perhaps be affirmed, even some historical value. Of course his opinions are given in his purely private capacity ; but for that very reason they are all the more trustworthy. He frequently met Cardinal Manning, and like every one else was an intense admirer. He had repeated conversations with Disraeli, Gladstone, Lord Granville, and Lord Salisbury. He was a constant visitor of the exiled royal family of France, and details some strange meetings with the mysterious Robert le Fort. He was on intimate terms with Sir Charles Dilke, Dean Stanley, Burton, Leighton, and innumerable others. As might be expected, he tells us many things about his chiefs, the Duc de Broglie and the Comte d'Harcourt. Besides his diplomatic and political engagements, he had many of a purely social character. He spent pleasant days at Woburn, at Hatfield, at Twickenham, and at Walmer Castle. He visited Oxford, penetrated into the lodging-houses of White-chapel, and did not omit to see a boat race. His remarks on all these people and topics are sometimes keen and just, sometimes amusing, nearly always bright and entertaining. It is thus he describes the appearance of Cardinal Manning when he first saw him : "Belle-tête, grand air, figure ascétique et de race ; il m' a ravi."

He cannot resist referring to the Lord Mayor and his wife as "*le roi et la reine de pique on de cœur*," by reason of their peculiar "*costumes de cérémonie*." Here is an exquisitely brief estimate of Lord Salisbury: "*Il y a deux hommes dans Salisbury, l'homme simple, charmant, que tout le monde connaît quand on cause avec lui en tête-à-tête, et l'orateur amer, violent, qu'on entend dans toutes les assemblées où il prend parole*." There are many more luminous passages in these notes and letters, and, as it is impossible to quote them, we must content ourselves with confidently recommending our readers to find them out and enjoy them.

There are several blunders in the English introduced into many of M. Gavard's letters. In some cases this may be laid at the door of the editor of the volume, in others M. Gavard himself is clearly to blame. We may site as examples such expressions as: "*the pass wine*," "*at the dark*," "*a people day*" at the "*Cristal Palace*," "*l' evening toast*" (for "*the toast of the evening*"); such spellings as "*theater*," "*sherif*," "*essay'ists*," "*les aies*" (for "*the ayes*"), and "*les nos*" (for "*the noes*"). These are trifling mistakes, no doubt, for a Frenchman, but they ought not to find their way into future reprints.

R. L. K.

De Genève À Rome : Impressions et Souvenirs. THÉODORE DE LA RIVE. Paris: E. Plon, Nourrit et Cie. 1895.

THROUGH some three hundred pages M. de la Rive traces his rather arduous but steady journey from Geneva to Rome. He did well to present his impressions to the public; because his impressions are by no means trite or unworthy of being put into print. They are original, well reasoned, and earnest. That one who was to so marked a degree a Calvinist, whose surroundings and hereditary tendencies were wholly Calvinistic, should have turned round and ardently embraced Catholicism is a matter for no little surprise. But turn round he assuredly did—not rashly, fanatically, but slowly, surely, and in logical sequence. His conversion was deeply thought out, and therefore the more valuable. In an admirable appendix he names the principal works that contributed to bring about the change in his theological tenets. He read Bossuet, Fénelon, and other great religious authors of the sixteenth century. Being quite in touch with the thought of his own time he could not escape being affected by the Oxford Movement. Newman and Manning were naturally to him bright lights on the way. At length he discovered

the falsity of the religion of Geneva, saw its "powerlessness to satisfy the most natural, most legitimate aspirations of the human heart," and recognised the truth, the eternal consistency of the Catholic Church. His account of the workings of his mind throughout the period of his conversion, as expressed in this impressive volume, cannot be sufficiently commended for its clearness as regards literary style, and its earnestness as regards religious conviction. For hesitating non-Catholics it cannot fail to resolve many doubts, and recent converts or weak believers are bound to find that a thoughtful perusal of this excellent treatise will give them much courage and strength.

Slav and Moslem. Historical sketches by J. MILLIKEN NAPIER
BRODHEAD. Aiken Publishing Co., Aiken S.C. 1894.

MR. BRODHEAD is an ardent Russophile. In him the Slav has found an enthusiastic advocate. He has travelled a good deal in Russia, he has consulted the most diverse and the most obscure authorities on his subject, and, as far as can be seen, he appears to know his ground thoroughly. His knowledge is nothing if not broad. All the lights of the present century, from Carlyle to Mr. Stead, are brought to bear upon his theme. His pages bristle with quotations, with the result that his work is rather a clever piece of encyclopædic journalism—very American journalism too—than a respectable series of historical sketches. Russia has had a disappointing past, and has developed only to fall back again; but she has a great future, thinks Mr. Brodhead, and an important part to play in the politics of the world. He is right when he states that her tardy development is to be ascribed to her embracing the Eastern Schism rather than Latin Christianity, a course which always kept her outside the pale of European civilisation. She again lost her chance of becoming a cultured member of international society when the Council of Florence proved abortive. But it is as the opponent of the Turk that she is to be seen in her worthiest rôle. Herein lie her prospects. There is certainly much truth in this opinion. At the present moment, for example, she ought to be the true protector of the Armenians, a people with whom she may be supposed to have some sympathy. England has nothing in common with these Eastern Christians, and yet, for political reasons, advertisement, and the sake of seeming heroic, she champions their cause. This book is filled with interesting points, nearly all of which are old

and drawn from sources other than the brain of the author. But, as Mr. Brodhead would say, that is, a detail. It is as an entertaining *résumé* of other people's opinions, an admirable compilation.

R. L. K.

Novum Testamentum Domini Nostri Jesu Christi Latine.

Secundum editionem Sancti Hieronymi, ad codicum man-
scriptorum fidem recensuit JOHANNES WORDSWORTH, S.T.P.,
Episcopus Sarisfuriensis. Partis prioris fasciculus quartus.
Evangelium sec. Johannem. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1895.

THE three first numbers—including the Synoptist Gospels—of this most important work have been already separately noticed in the DUBLIN REVIEW. It must not be supposed therefore, because only a very few words are said here about the fourth number, that the work is undervalued or regarded as deteriorating from its former excellence. It may be truly said that no more important service has been rendered to students of the Vulgate text since the time of Clement VIII. Nor is there any reason for Catholics to look with suspicion upon the labours of the present editors. No one supposes that the edition of the Vulgate published by Clement VIII., and now in use in the Church, is entirely perfect. Far from it. No doubt there would be many inconveniences attending the introduction of a new edition of the Vulgate into the Liturgy and Theology of the Church. And it may be said that for practical purposes, the present edition is sufficiently perfect. However that may be, it cannot but be of importance for students of the Bible to have as accurate an edition of the Vulgate as it is possible to construct. Towards such an edition the new Wordsworth recension will be of great service. It is constructed on the same lines as before. The various available codices are collated, and the different readings duly registered in the notes. It is evidently a work of great labour and care, and deserves the thanks of all who are interested in the study of the Vulgate.

J. A. H.

Une Ancienne Version Latine de l'Écclésiastique. Fragment publié pour la première fois, accompagné du fac-similé du Manuscrit Visigoth. Par C. DOUAI. Paris: Alphonse Picard. 1895.

THIS fragment, containing chap. xxi. 20-31, and chap. xxii. 1-27 of the Book of Ecclesiasticus, was discovered at Toulouse by M. Judicis in the year 1846. The writing of the MS. is undoubtedly Visigoth, and M. Douai has no hesitation in assigning to it a Spanish origin; in fact in deciding that it comes from the kingdom of Toledo, and that it belongs to the eighth or ninth century.

M. Douai, having compared the fragment of Toulouse, with the well-known Bible of Metz and Bible of Theodulf, decides that they are not connected with one another. But as a result of his investigations, he concludes that we ought to admit the existence of at least two translations of Ecclesiasticus, of one of which the Vulgate is the type, the MS. of Toulouse of the other. The version, of which the Toulouse MS. is a fragment, is, M. Douai conjectures, based upon the current African Latin version, freely emended from the Greek; so that the result became in reality a new translation. When this translation was made M. Douai does not venture to say, though he suggests the end of the fourth century; and even mentions the name of St. Jerome in connection with it. The Toulouse MS. would be a copy of this version, made after a considerable lapse of time and containing many corruptions.

J. A. H.

Six Months in a Syrian Monastery. By OSWALD H. PARRY. London: Horace Cox. 1895.

IF money could purchase the conversion of nations, there is little doubt that the British missionary associations would long since have spread the doctrines of Christianity throughout the world. For who can tell the tens of millions that have been contributed for that purpose by Protestants both in England and America? It was not, however, by an outlay of money that the chosen Twelve brought the peoples of Europe and Asia to the light of faith. Neither did the Apostles of later ages rely upon the power of the purse to promote their missionary labours.

Mr. Parry, in the volume before us, gives a more or less interesting account of a journey of his, undertaken on behalf of the Syrian Patriarchate Education Society in 1892. His visit was to the old

Syrian Church, a body numbering some 150,000 or 200,000 souls, and plunged in the darkness of ignorance and error. Mr. Parry regards them from the good old Protestant standpoint; and, untaught by past failure, apparently imagines that it is the lot of Anglicanism to convert them to genuine Christianity. It is almost amusing to find Mr. Parry referring to a reverence for the Bible, as still a kind of specialty of Protestantism. During his travels in the East, he seems to have forgotten the kind of views regarding Scripture dominant in his Church at home. It would be exceedingly interesting to know what Mr. Parry would consider to be the teaching of Protestantism, on, say, Baptism, the Eucharist, Confession and Eternal Punishment. A kind of insinuation pervades the book that Syrian converts to Rome are animated mostly by interested motives. Could it be possible—this of course is merely a suggestion—that the old Syrians stretch out their hands to England with a view not so much to spiritual as financial aid?

J. A. H.

Cursus Sacræ Scripturæ. Commentarius in Genesim, auctore Francisco de Hummelauer, S.J. Parisiis: Sumptibus P. Le-thiellieux, editoris. 1895.

THE Commentary on Genesis, in the "*Cursus Sacræ Scripturæ*," in process of publication by the German Jesuits, has been looked forward to with interest for some time past by Catholic Biblical students. The more so as Father Hummelauer was known to be the author of the coming volume—a man who had already acquired a reputation by his writings on the historical books of the Old Testament. "*Genesis*" has at last appeared, doubtless to be soon followed by the remaining books of the Pentateuch; and it may safely be said that, in his latest publication, Father Hummelauer maintains the high reputation for learning and scholarship he had already earned by his earlier contributions to the "*Cursus Sacræ Scripturæ*." Needless to say, Father Hummelauer defends the traditional view as to the Mosaic authorship; explaining, in the course of the volume, the reasons which lead him to reject the critical analysis of Genesis, as it is set forth by modern scholars.

Father Hummelauer excuses himself from prefacing his commentary with an exhaustive discussion of the question of the Pentateuch, referring his readers for information on the subject to Father Cornely's treatment of it in the general introduction. It must not be imagined, however, that he proceeds to comment on the text

without any introductory remarks. On the contrary he sets forth his views as to the composition of Genesis, in an essay of some forty-five pages; and, whether one agrees or not with the explanation therein defended, it will be acknowledged by all that Father Hummelauer displays, in the defence of his position, great learning and familiarity with biblical literature, both ancient and modern.

Father Hummelauer is far from denying that the author of Genesis drew his information as to the facts set forth in Genesis from sources, whether in the shape of oral or written traditions; on the contrary, he holds such to have been certainly the case. But he entirely repudiates the contention of the "hypercritical" school, that these sources contained "not genuine history nor true revelations, but popular myths"; and ridicules the confidence with which modern critics split up the different sections of Genesis, assigning chapters, verses, or even words to different writers. The arguments brought forward in support of this minute analysis—viz., diversity in the use of the names of the Divinity, repetitions and contradictions, and differences of style, are then submitted to examination and rejected; either as false or quite consistent with the theory as to the composition of Genesis, defended by the author.

So far Father Hummelauer's work has been mostly negative. He now proceeds to build up a theory of his own. Taking Genesis as a whole, he shows that it contains three distinct strata of traditions, welded together at a later day, by a redactor—the redactor being of course none other than Moses. The first stratum, *stratum Adamicum* or *prænoëticum*, extends from the beginning of the book to the deluge. The second, *stratum noëticum* or *præabrahamicum* embraces the traditions (besides those mentioned above) which Abraham brought with him from Senaar,—e.g., the account of the flood, the deeds and progeny of Noe, the genealogy of Sem. The third stratum, called *Abrahamicum* or *præmosaicum*, is made up of such traditions as had their origin after the departure from Senaar.

Now it will readily be conceived that these three strata must have differed very much from one another in style; nay more, that even the traditions contained within one stratum must have manifested very considerable variations in that respect, seeing that each group of traditions was the growth of centuries. Father Hummelauer has accordingly no difficulty in accounting, on his theory, for divergences of style in Genesis; and, throughout the commentary, wherever modern critics strive to prove diversity of authorship from difference of style, he tries to show that the diversity of style implies no more than may be allowed, consistently with Mosaic authorship.

Finally, Father Hummelauer discusses the rôle of Moses, whom

he calls the "redactor seu libri auctor." It was he who first collected into one volume the various "generations" (תולדות), contained in the three above-mentioned strata, adding certain passages from other sources (as the generations of Ismael and Esau), and whatever explanations were necessary for the right understanding of the whole.

Such are Father Hummelauer's views as to the composition of Genesis; and they are enlarged upon and defended throughout the commentary with great lucidity and ability. It will be satisfactory to many students to know that the cautious author leaves the question of the non-universality of the deluge *quoad homines* an open one.

It would be affectation to pretend to believe that Father Hummelauer's work will have any appreciable effect in modifying the views of the followers of the Higher Criticism, whether rationalistic or otherwise. Perhaps it is a mistake to isolate the question of the authorship of Genesis. It would seem that the whole Pentateuch—leaving Josue out of the question—is so bound up together, that the authorship of one part cannot be satisfactorily discussed without reference to the rest. Father Hummelauer's hypothesis as to Genesis is plausible. But what if it be said, as of course all critics will say, that the styles of the strata of Genesis do not stop with Genesis. They go on unchanged throughout the Hexateuch. Such an objection cannot be passed over in these days by any writer expecting a patient hearing from both sides. It goes to the very root of Father Hummelauer's contention. And however plausible or ingenious a theory may be, it will have no practical effect upon a great controversy, unless it be shown to supply an answer to such an objection as the one suggested above.

J. A. H.

Publications of the Catholic Truth Society. London: 18 West Square, S.E.

A ZEALOUS Catholic bookseller in a small country town was lately lamenting to us the lack of short Catholic stories of the class supplied in great quantities by non-Catholic agencies, and frequently made the vehicle for anti-Catholic teaching. He was convinced that he could distribute many such tales if they were not too openly religious, and if they did not bear the name of the "Catholic Truth Society." His customers who were all Protestant would not take anything with that name on its front. Perhaps the

Society which is already doing so much to distribute cheap Catholic reading might consider whether it could satisfy this demand and reproduce in popular form some of the many good stories which appear in our newspapers, withholding their distinctive name from the title-page and leaving only their address. We were reminded of the suggestion by "The Price of the Pearl," by Baroness Pauline von Hügel, which, together with "Joan of Arc," by Lady Amabel Kerr, are the principal publications forwarded to us for notice this quarter. The former contains four interesting and romantic tales drawn from the heroic days of English martyrs and confessors, and bearing mainly on mixed marriages. The latter tells in choice and simple language the tragic story of the Maiden Martyr of France, whom we are glad to see called by the anglicised name which has been familiar to us all from childhood. Lady Amabel is perhaps a little severe on the aggression and usurpation of our English kings, still her beautiful book will help to increase amongst us devotion to the Holy Maid of Orleans, whose beatification would be as popular in England as in France.

The Biographical Department includes an interesting sketch by Mr. Kegan Paul of the "Seven Holy Founders of the Servite Order"; a life of Palestrina, and one of "B. Margaret Mary," also by Lady Amabel Kerr. "Ireland's Spiritual Shamrock" is a reproduction of the well-known excellent Lives of St. Patrick, St. Brigid, and St. Columba. There is also a devout account of "St. Frances of Rome," whose marvellous story deserves to be better known as an example to women living in the world. In "Dom Maurice Chauncy and Brother Hugh Taylor," D. Lawrence Hendriks tells the story of two Carthusian Confessors for the faith who just missed the crown of martyrdom, but lived to carry on in Flanders the glorious line of the London Charter House.

Amongst controversial tractates we notice a timely one on "The Sacrifices of Masses" condemned in the Thirty-nine Articles, which Anglicans attempt to distinguish from the Sacrifice of the Mass; another by F. Sydney Smith on the "Disappearance of the Papacy," one of Dr. Littledale's wonderful discoveries; and some good leaflets on "Communion in one Kind," "How to Become a Catholic," &c. &c. "Fair Treatment for Honest Work" is a reprint of one of the admirable papers on Social Questions which Abbot Snow has been writing lately. Dr. Gasquet's article in our last October number on "The Cures at Lourdes" has also been reprinted. Some excellent devotional tracts for a halfpenny or a penny conclude the list of this quarter's publications.

A Literary History of the English People. From the Origins to the Renaissance. By J. J. JUSSERAND. London: T. Fisher Unwin. 1895. Pp. 545.

M. JUSSERAND is already well known as the author of scholarly works, both in English and in French, dealing with the mediæval period of English literature. The present volume is, we learn and hope, only the first instalment of a work that will traverse the whole field of our literary history.

The realms of our literature are ever extending their boundaries, in the older periods by the discovery, deciphering, and printing of works hitherto unknown or unavailable, and in the modern days by the rich legacies left behind by the great writers who have but recently passed away. Our language reaches back into the shadows of a dim antiquity; it is traceable to many various sources; it has undergone great changes; it has found many to describe it and the works which it has produced. Hence it is, as the author states in his preface, that it is quite necessary nowadays, for any writer who would venture to treat of our literary history, to specialise his labour, and "to make with particular care the kind of observations for which circumstances have fitted him best." He therefore proposes to discuss our literature in connection with the people and the nation that is to say, alongside of the origin and growth of the people and of its national sentiment and character, he will exhibit the manner in which they found expression in language down through the ages to the present day. Of course to be profitable this process must be a continuous one; it must extend through periods when the national sentiment found utterance in a language not its own.

The author proposes to carry out this idea in three volumes, the first volume "telling the literary story of the English up to the Renaissance; the second up to the accession of King Pope; the last up to our own day." The volume to hand, though only the opening part of the projected work, is really complete in itself. It is divided into three books. Book I. gives the "origins" of the nation and its language; and in four chapters treats of the Celts and the Roman invasion of Britain, narrates the Germanic conquests and the characteristics of the national poetry of the Anglo-Saxons, and lastly, considers the Christian literature and the prose writings of the period, whether in Latin or Anglo-Saxon.

Book II. also consists of four chapters. After an explanation of the results of the battle of Senlac, we are shown how French was superimposed on the English language; how the resulting literature in French, animated by a mingling of Norman and Saxon feeling,

blossomed into song and story. The histories, chronicles, &c., in Latin are next discussed, and then the English translations of pious works.

Book III. contains seven chapters. The importance of the subject rises. Hitherto the author has been engaged in tracing the sources and course of different streams of sentiment and naturality. He has now found their point of confluence, and, standing for a moment at the meeting of the waters, gazes at the swelling tide of a single national life as it forges on its course. The various elements have amalgamated. "Norman and Saxon and Dane are we, but all of us one"—English. England is now "merrie England," bursting with life and vigour. Chaucer is the outcome, the first great spokesman of the new nation, the welder of the various elements and dialects, the moulder of the language for ages to come. Some minor poets claim short consideration, Gower a more lengthy notice. Then follows a long and able chapter on William Langland, the author of "Piers the Ploughman." The first place among the prose writers of the fifteenth century is given to John Wyclif. After that follows an interesting account of the rise of the theatre out of the old dialogues and mysteries, and a description of the close of the Middle Ages.

It will be abundantly plain from this short summary how broad and comprehensive is the survey taken by M. Jusserand, and how comparatively fresh is the point of view from which it is made.

Trite though the saying is, it is none the less true that we are the creatures of our circumstances. And as it is with individuals, so is it with nations. The national sentiment and its literary expression are the outcome of the natural disposition, as modified by locality, by intercommunication with other peoples for war or commerce, and by intermingling with those other racial elements out of which a nation has sprung.

It is just this relation between the history of a people and the phases of its literature which, in many cases, the general reader and even the studious scholar are at a loss to discern. M. Jusserand has set himself to work to lessen, and, if possible, to remove the difficulty. We are happy to be able to say that he has, in our opinion, performed his task so far with no small measure of success. The object in view was no easy one to attain. Not only is there needed an intimate and first-hand knowledge of our literature, its writers and their works, but also a clear and well-balanced view of our national history. The work thus becomes a mixture of the history of the nation and of its literature, each explanatory of the other. M. Jusserand has managed well. He is clear, full of information, and always interesting. He is thoroughly conversant with our literature.

We are continually met, up and down the book, by appreciative estimates and comparisons, which shows much acuteness, and also by valuable hints and explanations which make clear a great deal.

Speaking of the difficulty there is in dating the literary work of the Anglo-Saxon period, M. Jusserand says :

The purely Germanic period of the literary history of England lasted six hundred years, that is for about the same length of time as divides us from the reign of Henry III. Rarely has a literature been more consistent with itself than the literature of the Anglo-Saxons. They were not as the Celts, quick to learn; they had not the curiosity, loquacity, taste for art which were shown in the subjugated race. They developed slowly. Those steady qualities which were to save the Anglo-Saxon genius from the absolute destruction that threatened it at the time of the Norman Conquest resulted in the production of literary works evincing, one and all, such a similitude in tastes, tendencies, and feelings that it is extremely difficult to date and localise them. At the furthest end of the period the Anglo-Saxons continued to enjoy, Christians as they were, and in more and more intimate contact with latinised races, legends and traditions going back to the pagan days, nay, to the days of their continental life by the shores of the Baltic (p. 38).

Or again, take the following statement of the crisis at hand on the election of Harold II. :

An awful problem had to be solved. Divided, helpless, uncertain, England could no longer remain what she had been for six hundred years. She stood vacillating, drawn by contrary attractions to opposite centres, half-way between the North, that had at last populated the land, and the South that had taught and Christianised the nation. On both sides fresh invaders threaten her; which will be the winner? Should the North triumph, England will be bound for centuries to the Germanic nations, whose growth will be tardy, and whose literary development will be slow, so slow indeed that men still alive to-day may have seen with their own eyes the great poet of the race, Goethe, who died in 1832. Should the South carry the day, the growth will be speedy and the preparation rapid. Like France, Italy, and Spain, England will have at the Renaissance a complete literature of her own, and be able to produce a Shakespeare, as Italy produced an Ariosto, Spain a Cervantes, and France a Montaigne, a Ronsard, and a Rabelais (p. 97).

From these two short extracts some small idea may be gained of M. Jusserand's method of combining history and literature. It will be seen, too, that he has at his command a clear and polished style of English, which, though in places somewhat strongly tinged by a foreign fondness for antithesis, and for the use of the historical present, besides being slightly marred in one or two places by lapses from the general English use of a word, places his meaning before his readers in a manner that is at once lucid, bright, and attractive. He has entered into the spirit of our literature and has overcome so

successfully the difficulties of our language as scarcely to betray his foreign origin.

In a lengthy account of the poet Chaucer is much that is valuable and helpful to a clear understanding of his life and labour. If the chapter may be said to afford any matter for regret, it is that the subject of his talking the East-Midland dialect as the vehicle of his literary expression has not been a little more particularised and developed.

A large space is devoted to John Wyclif, the so-called "Morning Star of the Reformation." M. Jusserand shows how his writings tended to communism, and how the people, accepting his theories without the restrictions which he himself placed upon them, broke out into rebellion. As regards the question of Wyclif's translation of the Bible, M. Jusserand takes it for granted that he did personally translate a large portion of the Bible whilst he supervised the translation of the remainder. This may have to be modified if the doubts which Dr. Gasquet has thrown on the authorship of the Wycliffite Scriptures should be confirmed. At the same time, however, M. Jusserand speaks out plainly as regards the attitude of the pre-Reformation Church towards Scriptures in the vernacular:

To translate the Scriptures was not forbidden. The Church only required that the versions should be submitted to her for approval. There already existed several, complete or partial, in various languages; a complete one in French, written in the thirteenth century, and several partial ones in English (p. 433).

And here we must take leave of M. Jusserand's work, which is as full of enlightened suggestion as its manner of production is satisfactory. Paper and type are good and the margins adequate for neatness. A good index completes the usefulness of the volume, and an interesting heliogravure by Dujardin of Mediæval London given as a frontispiece.

J. B. M.

Degeneration. By MAX NORDAU. Translated from the Second German Edition. London: William Heinemann.

DR. MAX NORDAU has attempted a daring thing; and he has succeeded, if we may judge by the outcries of every day critics, touched to the quick by his lance. In this brilliant, painful, humorous, keen-edged volume, he walks the hospital of plague-stricken literature, examines the most distinguished patients, notes their symptoms, and sums up their case. His diagnosis cannot be

wanting in horrors; disease and its surroundings are by a divine dispensation almost always ugly; and persons of weak nerves, to say nothing of the reader in quest of amusement, will often be shocked or staggered as they turn over these pages. That, in an age of unchecked publication, may be deplored, but can scarcely be avoided. The writers whom Nordau dissects and reduces to first principles are in every one's hands; their names have gone abroad to the four winds, and Europe bows down to the genius of Ibsen, Tolstoi, Wagner, Zola; of Flaubert, Gautier, and the pre-Raphaelites. If all these exhibit plague-spots, if they are heralds and even captains of an intellectual Black Death, now is the moment to give us warning. For who has not come within their influence? It was time that a physician spoke. Nordau, cool and yet trenchant, an eye always upon the evidence, and qualified by his long readings in modern books, has performed this needful operation. Views will differ as to his success; but there cannot be two opinions regarding his strength as a critic, or the interest which he has thrown over a subject in many ways repulsive.

The German volumes of which Mr. Heinemann now publishes a well-written and fairly idiomatic English version, raised echoes all round Germany when they first came out. They were reviewed on this side of the Channel more than a year ago. Had the writer been orthodox, conservative, and, as Italians speak, a *codino*—in love with the past, timid before the future—his judgment might, perhaps, be suspected. He is, however, none of these things. Nordau, like Professor Huxley, whose pure agnosticism he shares, believes neither in God nor devil, laughs at metaphysics and theology, which he calls idle chatter, takes his stand upon molecules and their mixtures, follows the method of Lombroso, is a hard-headed Rationalist, in social doctrine a reformer, and utterly disdainful of what he has smitten with anathema as "conventional lies." It is important to bear this in mind. There seems to be no valid reason why Christians should be forbidden to judge of modern literature by their own standard, as other schools have done, and will always do. But Nordau is in no sense a Christian. If he feels bound to speak of widespread disease, to admonish decadents, and to blow the trumpet against the hosts of Ibsen—against Realism, Diabolism, Nietzsche, and Maeterlinck—he cannot be ruled out of the lists as a Don Quixote from the reactionary training-grounds, or told to sit down as one behind the age.

"Mystics, Ego-maniacs, and Realists," such are the classes into which he divides his patients. The catalogue is a long one. English readers will turn with some curiosity to the very unkind observa-

tions—often in the sledge-hammer style—that Nordau has made upon Ruskin and the esthetic movement, on “Nora” and “Hedda Gabler,” on “Ivan Ilyitch” and the “Kreutzer Sonata.” We may disagree, but, unless quite fanatical, we shall be excessively amused. A new and most laughable “Martinus Scriblerus” might be composed from his happy and absurd citations. It is difficult for a man of science not to satirise the loose talk about heredity, spinal complaint, and exact prognosis in “Ghosts” and “A Doll’s House.” It ought to be impossible for any one, layman or professional, to put faith in Tolstoi’s judgment, after reading his melancholy admissions that he has been, more than once, all but out of his mind. The pretended—shall we say the insolent and presumptuous?—realism of Zola is blown to atoms when Nordau has shown its origin and resources to be, not the average experience of Paris life, nor the observation of facts at large, but a set of criminal *dossiers* dealing with the family of Kérangel which for a space of some ninety years yielded its abnormal harvest to the prison, the almshouse, and the asylum. What, moreover, can be alleged as a counterpoise to the charges brought against Richard Wagner, from his prose writings and the incredible caricatures of old German or Scandinavian legends which he has wrought into tableaux vivants accompanied by “endless melody,” and a Leit-motif? Will these shreds and patches bear looking at in broad daylight? And can Wagner be acquitted of anarchic tendencies, of doing homage to emotions which never yet made for righteousness, of disorder in his dramatic conceptions, and of exploiting for stage-effect the most sacred memories? To Nordau it seems that all this revival of associations long discredited, this romantic, mystic, mediæval, or Renaissance trumpery employed for the purpose of rousing sentiments to which no genuine beliefs correspond, is a pernicious hypnotism. Religion it is not, nor creative genius, nor art which can endure. It is mere religiosity, imitation without life, and perilous self-indulgence; it marks the overthrow of reason by reverie, the usurpation of the lower nerve-centres to the detriment of the higher, and a growing brain-fatigue. Men talk of progress and evolution; what they should guard against is degeneracy. Their vital strength is lessening, for the tax upon it grows every day.

Hence the reign of sentimentalism, the thirsting for sensations, the inconstancy of effort, the cloud that darkens ideas, the contradictions swarming on every page of the Verlaines and the Whitmans; hence the universal bric-à-brac, as in a Jew’s warehouse, and the disappearance from modern life of simplicity, *cujus non audeo dicere*

nomen, exclaimed, in not unlike circumstances, the most mordant of Roman satirists. Symptoms are, in short, visible among the upper classes everywhere, but especially in great European capitals like Paris and Vienna, which point to a moral decadence. They are not wanting nearer home.

Nordau's witness to these phenomena is one thing, his explanation another. We cannot, of course, accept a psychology founded upon Materialism; and much of the medical lore heaped up in his too confident periods will be put aside as debateable or exaggerated. Yet the formula of the balance which he employs would seem to convey some important truth, when cleared of its agnostic associations. There ought to be, as he contends, an equilibrium between the healthy organism and the objects on which it reacts. So long as it does react with promptness and vigour, it is in a normal condition; wherever it fails, in an abnormal. And it proves the failure by insanity, self-absorption, dreaming with open eyes, the tyranny of coercive ideas. The degenerate have their own marks, which Lombroso has found in asylums, and which Nordau, somewhat ruthlessly—himself, under the German "coercive idea" of system—fixes upon novels, plays, poems, and essays that have sold by the hundred thousand. Let us abate from the evidence all *à priori* suggestions; two things force themselves upon our view, notwithstanding, as undeniable.

One is the significant spectacle of a modern who recoils in disgust from conclusions, practices, and rules of conduct excused, if not justified, by the Materialism in which he puts his faith. Dr. Nordau warns the decadent that he is running on destruction; but if a man may please himself, why, in the name of pleasure (and it is all our physician appeals to) should he not? Thus the agnostic publishes his own *reductio ad absurdum*. But the second thing left when we have cast away all possible mistakes and false judgments in the volume is this, that religion cannot be deemed superfluous though physical science should, in the hands of eminent professors, have done its utmost to banish the transcendental from men's minds, or secular politics (as in France and Italy) have taken Auguste Comte for their guide. When the wise and the foolish are talking of "reaction"; when they murmur against teachers who promised them, in the name of molecules, "laws of conduct" as well as "laws of comfort," and have not kept their promise; when disease invades literature, and a Max Nordau comes forward to urge upon governments the need of an Index Expurgatorius, and to denounce the abnormal which for so many has taken the place left vacant by the supernatural, who can resist a suspicion—it has long haunted serious

persons—that if the men of the laboratory and the scalpel had been more modest, these degenerates would never have found an audience, nor would popular applause be given to writers no less corrupt in principle than in style and treatment far below the classics of great nations?

W. B.

Une Vie inédite de S. Émilion d'après le ms Y 1 de
l'Archevêché de Bordeaux. Par M. le CHANOINE E.
ALLAIN. Bruxelles: Imprimerie Polleunis et Ceuterick. 1894.

THE name of St. Émilion usually suggests a claret purporting to come from a ravine of the Dordogne; only this and nothing more. Such is fame. The holy man himself is as unknown to the bulk of those who invoke him at the dinner table, as the taste of the wine dedicated, with or without permission, to his memory was probably unknown to the saint himself. Notices of his life are few and brief, and these have long lain buried under dust and cobwebs in ill-kept libraries. To the learned keeper of the Bordeaux diocesan records we owe the return to light of a forgotten and unedited manuscript life of St. Émilion. It was Canon Allain's good fortune to discover this valuable biography within the yellow pages of a forgotten twelfth-century MS. marked Y 1 in the episcopal archives of Bordeaux. A description of manuscript Y 1 will interest many our readers. "It was," says the editor, "quite a little library for the canons regular of St. Emilion. It contains an Adonian Martyrology . . . ; an Obituary; the Rule of St. Augustine with explanation; numerous selections from the Fathers; the Life of the Founder of the Monastery; rubrics; liturgical excerpts, of which some are set to music; two Bulls of Leo IX. and Adrian IV; notices of donations; association of prayers in which several abbeys joined St. Émilion." Who the author of the *Vita* was, or when it was written, Canon Allain has not been able to discover. It cannot have been written earlier than the ninth century. Mabillon's statement about the secularisation of the regular chapter of St. Émilion is proved to be incorrect, for the secular canons did not displace the ancient stall-holders before 1309. The French editor also calls attention to the labours of Weale and Misset in the liturgical field, and gives us a portion of and sequence for St. Émilion's feast taken from the W. & M.'s invaluable *Analecta Liturgica*. In his reproduction of the *Vita*, Canon Allain has brought the spelling up to date, corrected evident slips of the copyist, and

then, with a thoughtfulness which antiquarians will know how to estimate, has printed the slips, such as they are, in the margin. The history of the saint occupies but little space in this fasciculus. Short as it is, however, it will be found worth reading, and lovers of hagiology will be grateful to the Bordeaux *savant* for the pains he has taken to bring out a scholarly edition of the recently disinterred *Vita Sti Emilionis*. A facsimile page of the MS. Life is given in frontispiece.

G. H.

Charity is the Greatest Created Gift of God to Man. By the Very Rev. J. A. MALTHUS, O.P. London: Burns & Oates, 1s.

DEVOUT and loving souls will welcome another small treatise by Fr. Malthus. Solidly based on the teaching of the Angelic Doctor, these pages supply both light for the understanding and food for the heart. The greatest created gift of God is briefly studied and its use strongly and effectively inculcated. Divine Love, like every other love, is best learnt by loving. Fully aware of this law of our being, the learned Dominican writer has skilfully strung together doctrine and prayer, rules and exercises. Here we have a passage where St. Thomas teaches that fervent charity towards God, consumes all venial sins, and here we have petitions full of fire addressed to the Most Blessed Trinity. The example of Blessed Magdalene de Panateriis, Virgin of the Third Order of St. Dominic, is given at p. 27 to drive home the lesson of love for the Holy Name, and at p. 23 we are taught the loving aspirations of St. Bernardine of Siena. This tiny manual of charity is well printed and neatly bound.

G. H.

A Royal and Christian Soul. By Mgr. D'HULST. Washbourne, 1895. 2s.

THIS little book is a touching tribute paid to the memory of his Royal Highness Philippe, Comte de Paris, by his life-long friend and spiritual adviser the Rector of the Catholic Institute of Paris. The eloquent prelate does not attempt to describe the career of the late prince, or to supply the partisans of monarchy with a political treatise.

My aim [writes Mgr. d'Hulst in the preface to his work] has been a study of character, the portrayal of a soul. . . . Political questions are, indeed, continually referred to, but from one point of view only—that of the conscience of the Prince.

The author begins by showing the difference between the world's and God's estimate of greatness :

A life to appear great in the eyes of man, must [according to the Parisian rector] combine three elements which are not always found together : outstanding abilities, the effort necessary to develop them, and, lastly, the favour of fortune. God, happily, is more just. . . . He reserves His supreme approval for virtue alone.

The virtues of the grandson of Louis Philippe are dealt with in moderate language : his modesty, loyalty, love of union, regard for Divine Revelation. One of the desires he expressed was to see the moral influence of religion encouraged, especially in schools, without compromising it by too intimate a connection with the State ; but the anti-Christian education laws of his native country he detested and condemned. Only six weeks before his death the Comte de Paris wrote :

For [France] to rise again, she must become once more a Christian nation. A nation which has lost the sense of religion, where men's passions are no longer curbed by any moral restraint, *where sufferers find no motive for resignation in any hope of a future life*, is doomed to . . . become the prey of its enemies within and without.

Though brought up by a Lutheran mother, the Prince was thoroughly grounded in all Catholic practices and principles, and this training kept always alive in him true self-respect and reverence for the things of God. His married life was one of closest affection and unclouded happiness. Visitors to any of the Comte's places of residence may have remarked two writing-tables placed side by side. At one the Prince used to work, at the other the Princess ; and these tables thus touchingly symbolised that perfect union which nothing was suffered to interrupt, and which bound soul to soul even in the midst of work and study. Great was the charity of the Prince, who distinguished himself by liberality to the poor, to charitable institutions, to schools, to Peter's Pence. The cross, without which no virtue can be perfected, was heavily pressed upon the shoulders of the Comte de Paris, but in prayer he found strength to bear its salutary burden. As the hour of judgment drew nearer, his intercourse with our Divine Lord and His Holy Mother became closer. He received more frequently the sacrament of life and love, he deepened, by systematic reading, his knowledge of spiritual things. The death of the Prince was what might have been

expected from the elevated sentiments, the perfect uprightness, constant application to duty, firm and humble faith and profound piety which had distinguished his life. The Benedictine translator, Dom Oswald Hunter Blair, has, by his easy and idiomatic English, done full justice to a book whose style is as graceful as its subject is fascinating.

G. H.

The Jewish Race in Ancient and Roman History. From the Eleventh Revised Edition of A. RENDU, LL.D. Translated by THERESA CRODHU. London: Burns & Oates.

FIRST let us say that this should prove a very useful book. Living as we do among a people who, for the most part, consider a knowledge of Old Testament history a knowledge of religion, it is desirable that we should be better acquainted with it than English Catholics usually are, and the ninety-three pages, giving "The History of the Jews," in this work might be carefully crammed by the Faithful—both old and young—in this country, with very great advantage. And now for a word or two of friendly—very friendly—criticism.

We think the title-page might have been more explicit. An ordinary reader might very fairly say: "Who was A. Rendu, LL.D.? When did he live? From what language did Mrs. or Miss Theresa Crodhu translate his book? The work, again, is without any preface or introduction of any kind. There is something wonderfully familiar, and at the same time unfamiliar, in the opening words: "In the commencement, God created the heaven and the earth." In passing, let us observe that in so tightly compressed a book as this, "beginning," being a shorter word, would have been more suitable than "commencement," to say nothing of its being an infinitely better word in other respects. Then comes a condensation of the first few chapters in Genesis, which is followed by a summary of the historical matter in the rest of the Old Testament. Early in the book we come to dates, such as "Adam had another son named Seth (4834-3934)," and a few lines further on, we read of "Enoch (4342-3978)." The student would naturally ask: Why these discrepancies in the dates? What are the authorities from which they are taken? Of the literary style and lucidity of the book, the following account of the beautiful story of Ruth may be given as an example.

During this epoch God led *Ruth*, a poor Moabitish woman, toward one of her relatives named *Boaz*, a rich inhabitant of Bethlehem, who, touched

by her love for *Noemi*, her mother-in-law, took her in marriage. Of this union had to be born *Obed*, who gave the day to Isai, father of King David.

As we said, at starting, the first ninety-three pages, dealing with Jewish history, contain much that is valuable, and we should advise Catholics, who are not well versed in the subject, to make up their minds to tolerate their dry, jerky style, and to read them, study them, and thoroughly master them.

After this first part on the "History of the Jews," comes the second, on "Ancient History, properly so-called," in three divisions: Africa, Asia, and Europe. Then comes the third part, on "The History of Rome," likewise in three divisions: "The Monarchical Government," "The Roman Republic," and "The Roman Empire and the Church." Both the second and the third part contain a great deal of valuable historical information; but, throughout the greater number of these three hundred and five pages, we kept asking ourselves what had become of the "Jewish Race." It is true that it crops up occasionally, but only to disappear again. Summaries of the histories of Greece, Rome and Phœnicia form no treatise on the *Jewish Race in Ancient and Roman History*. Even the history of the Christian Church under the Roman emperors is not a history of the Jews. Altogether, only about one-quarter of the book strictly comes under the subject of its title. We did not grumble at the brevity of the account of Ruth; but when we found that the space devoted to Cleopatra and her doings was ten or twelve times as long, we thought it time for the critics to begin to plead the cause of "The Jewish Race."

The Tragedy of Fotheringay. Founded on the Journal of D. Bourgoing, Physician to Mary Queen of Scots, and on Unpublished MSS. Documents. By the Hon. Mrs. MAXWELL-SCORR of Abbotsford. London: Adam & Charles Black. 1895. Pp. 272.

AS Brantôme wrote three hundred years ago, the historians of Mary Queen of Scots have a choice between two great subjects—her life and her death. Her life was a checkered one, full of strange and violent contrasts. Its days of calm and sunshine were few and early. Crowned Queen in the cradle, she became a widow in early womanhood; surrounded, later on, by enemies in Scotland, she was forced to marry one of the murderers of her

second husband, Lord Darnley; and spent her last years in captivity in the realms of a cousin. There is ample material in all this for the moralist to point a homily on the Vanity of Human Wishes, or on Shakespere's text, "Uneasy lies the head that wears the crown." But this is not all. After a long and anxious captivity, she underwent a mock trial, deprived of all help of counsel and robbed of her private papers. The result of this strange assize was foredoomed: sentence was passed, and at length, after delays, almost as cruel as death itself, she suffered on the block as a felon.

The beauty and the sorrows of Mary Stuart have ever exercised a fascination over the imagination, whilst the mystery enveloping many of the contradictions in her life has furnished additional claims upon the attention of historians. Friend and foe have been busy with her life, and have made her the subject of the wildest praise or of the strongest condemnation. She was a high-spirited woman cast single-handed amid the rancours of Calvinism and the intrigues of a period of transition. Here, doubtless, lies the solution of most of the difficulties in her career. This much is certain. Her life was a block in the way of the Reformers; her accession to the throne of England was dreaded as the certain undoing of the work of Protestantism.

In the volume before us, the Honourable Mrs. Maxwell-Scott has added a charming contribution to the literature dealing with Mary Stuart. She has chosen as her subject the last days and death of the Queen—Brantôme's second alternative, which is not darkened or complicated by the difficulties of the first. The aim of Mary's enemies is clear—her death. Mary's position would also seem to be equally clear. She was accused and condemned for having plotted the assassination of Elizabeth. Of this she declared herself innocent to the last, at the same time acknowledging that she certainly had striven to obtain her own deliverance from the captivity in which she had languished so long. From the work now under consideration, it is abundantly evident that, whatever might be the plea put forward, her execution was really a prospective act of defence against the possible restoration of Catholicity in England in the event of her succeeding to the throne. Besides, her name was a thing to conjure with wherever discontent at persecution was rife, and her deliverance formed a plausible pretext before the world to those whose intentions were not limited by an object so blameless.

The title, "The Tragedy of Fotheringay," well describes the matter of Mrs. Maxwell-Scott's book. In what the authoress with so much modesty describes as "a short chapter added to the history of Queen Mary," we have the story of the last seven months of Mary Stuart's

life written with a fulness of detail which we shall elsewhere look for in vain in English. The narrative is founded on the journals kept by Dominique Bourgoing, her last physician. He was constantly in attendance upon her during this most trying period, and was present at her trial and her execution. His trustworthiness in all these matters was vouched for by Mary herself in her last letter to Pope Sixtus V., written at Fotheringay, November 23rd, 1586 :

Vous aurez le vrai récit de la fasson de ma dernière prise, et toutes les procédures contre moy et par moy, affin qu'entendant la vérité, les calumnies que les ennemys de l'Eglise me vouedront imposer puissent estre par vous réfutées et la vérité connue : et à cet effet ai je vers vous envoyé ce porteur, réquerant pour la fin votre sainte bénédiction (p. 3).

Bourgoing's journal was acquired at Pliny by M. Chantelauze, and was published by him in France in 1876. Bourgoing's narrative is supplemented by the letters of Sir Amyas Paulet, Mary's keeper, and from contemporary accounts of the execution printed in the Appendix in their entirety and preserved among the State papers. Lord Calthorpe has also courteously assisted the work by loans of documents from the Calthorpe MSS., and by permitting the reproduction of two curious contemporary drawings representing the trial and execution. These drawings are all the more valuable for bearing annotations in the hand of Robert Beale, Clerk of Council to Queen Elizabeth, whose daughter Margaret married Sir Henry Yelverton, Attorney-General, the ancestor of the Calthorpe family. The book also contains three other illustrations of great interest—the Blairs' portrait of Queen Mary which belonged to Elizabeth Curle, one of her women; an enlargement of the execution scene taken from the background of the above, and a portrait from a medallion containing a miniature of Mary Queen of Scots, and relics now in the possession of Lady Milford.

Bourgoing's narrative begins on Thursday, August 11th, 1586. The Babington Plot had been discovered and the conspirators doomed. Mary was implicated by letters which had been intercepted and "doctored" by Walsingham. Paulet, in accordance with his instructions, invited the Queen to ride to Tiscall, a few miles from Chartley, where she was then staying, under the pretence of seeing a buck hunt, but really in order that her cabinets might be rifled and her papers seized. The cavalcade set out on August 16th. On the way Sir Thomas Gorges gave her a message from Elizabeth, and some of her servants, said to be connected with the recent plots, were straightway separated from her. She was not allowed to return to Chartley till the 26th, when she was even deprived of her

money. She left Chartley for ever on September 21st, not knowing whither she was being conveyed, till she finally reached Fotheringay on the 25th.

Chapter III. opens the history of the mock trial, which was commenced on October 15th, and its consequences. Then follows the period of suspense during which Elizabeth was vacillating as to the carrying out of the sentence, and Mary was being subjected to continual indignities. Her last hours on earth are described with graphic detail—her calm and queenly dignity, her loving thought for her servants, her Christian resignation and acceptance of her fate. Sprinkled over the work are her constant protestations of her innocence of any attempt against the life of Elizabeth, and several utterances of her enemies, as well as of her own, which are really priceless testimonies as to the real cause of her death. We do not doubt that this graceful work by Mrs. Maxwell-Scott, with its clear open style, simple and unadorned, yet fascinating from its truthfulness and the absorbing interest of its subject, will give an additional impulse to the movement which has as its object to prove that Mary's death was her martyrdom. The authoress has earned the gratitude of all the adherents of the ill-fated Queen, and will doubtless by her painstaking narrative compel a revision of much that has been written concerning her. We are glad that the little booklet by Mrs. Maxwell-Scott, written for the Catholic Truth Society, has already blossomed into this larger work, which we heartily commend to our readers. The book is sumptuously produced, in a style worthy of its subject.

Appended to the Preface, which is dated February 8th, 1895, is a little note of melancholy interest :

Soon after these words were written my valued friend Father Stevenson was taken from us. He died on the evening of February 8th, the same day on which Queen Mary, whose honour he had done so much to maintain, suffered death, and I, by a further coincidence, finished the writing of this book.

J. B. M.

Geschichte des Breviers. Von P. SUITBERT BAÜMER, Benedictiner der Beuroner Congregation. Freiburg: Herder. 1895. 8vo, xx.-63f. page.

THE late Fr. Bäumer, member of the Benedictine Congregation of Beuron, is favourably known to Catholic readers in England. For some time he acted as sub-prior of the convent of his order in Erdington, near Birmingham; but a stronger claim to the gratitude of English Catholics is to be found in his contributions to English and Irish history in so far as monastic or liturgical questions are concerned. This obligation was further enhanced by his treatise on the English Benedictines at the commencement of the Reformation, and by his exhaustive and critical essay on the Stowe Missal, which made its appearance in the "*Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie*" (Innsbruck, 1892). Against the maintainers of the theory of an Irish Church independent of Rome, he successfully established the fact that the Stowe Missal, from liturgical evidence, must belong to the first part of the seventh century, and that its liturgical character completely disproves any existence in Ireland of liturgical sources independent from those of Rome. In connection with the controversies between the Abbé Duchesne and Probst, he published in the "*Historische Jahrbuch*," 1893, a learned essay on the *Sacramentarium Gelasianum*, in which he claimed against the Abbé Duchesne that the Roman liturgy had widely spread throughout France in the period prior to Charlemagne, in opposition to the common opinion hitherto accepted, which ascribed to that Emperor the introduction of the Roman rite in his dominions. Fr. Bäumer's treatise on the Apostolic Creed has been duly noticed in this REVIEW (vol. cxiii. p. 96f.). By his former studies, Fr. Bäumer was singularly well qualified for the task of writing a history of the Breviary. Although he modestly styles it an "Essay," the reader will quickly feel that he has before him the results of the conscientious labours of many years. In addition to the material which he has gathered from the archives and libraries of Italy, Germany, France, and England, the author has laid under contribution the printed literature of his subject in a very exhaustive way. For the part of his work which refers to England he is happy to acknowledge the able assistance of Mr. Edmund Bishop. The developments of the Breviary are traced in three parts through the patristic, mediæval, and post-Tridentine periods. The first part appears to us to rise above the level of former treatises dealing with this period, owing to the recent discoveries of patristic texts which Fr. Bäumer

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has so felicitously employed for illustrating his subject. A special interest attaches to his observations on the two currents of ascetical life which may be traced in Egypt and Palestine. The rule of the Palestine monks was introduced into Italy, but the more severe discipline of the monks in Egypt became the standard for Lerins, Southern Gaul, and from Rome found its way to Ireland. For the Middle Ages, Fr. Bäumer, against the conclusions of Abbé Batiffol ("Histoire du Bréviaire Romain," Paris, 1893), proves that it was St. Gregory the Great who gave a new shape to the Divine office. He next gives the result of his researches on the Breviary of the Curia Romana or papal chapel, which, on account of its abridgments, was adopted by the Friars Minor of St. Francis and thus became widely spread throughout Europe. The third part is devoted to a description of the reforms and development of the Breviary from the Council of Trent down to Leo XIII. For minuteness of liturgical references, width of research into ancient and recent literature, and for critical acumen in sifting vexed liturgical questions, this concluding part will take its place as a standard guide to all future students of the history of the Breviary. We may mention the fact that the author has treated with the same thoroughness not a few questions laterally connected with his subject-matter, such as ancient ecclesiastical music and the hymns of the Church. The work is furnished with useful tables and references, and is calculated to render helpful service both to the professor and student of sacred liturgy, and to every priest who wishes to acquire a deeper knowledge of the Breviary, and thereby to deepen his piety in the recitation of the Divine office.

A. B.

Actes de la Captivité et de la Mort des RR. PP. P. Olivaint, L. Ducondray, J. Caubert, A. Clerc, A. De Bengy, de la Compagnie de Jésus. Par le P. ARMAND DE PONLEROY, de la même Compagnie. Seizième Edition. Paris: Téqui Libraire-Editeur, 33 Rue Du Cherche Midi. 1894. Pp. 339.

THIS is an account of the captivity and death of the Jesuits who suffered martyrdom during the reign of the Commune in Paris. The author bases his narrative partly on the testimony of eye-witnesses of the events recorded, and partly on letters written by the martyrs during the six weeks' imprisonment which preceded their execution. Fr. Ponleroy's book has met with great success in

France, where as many as forty thousand copies have been sold. By way of appendix there is added the panegyric on the martyrs which was preached by M. L'Abbé R. Bayle, Vicar-General of Paris.

L'Ancien Clergé de France : Les Evêques pendant la Révolution. Par M. L'Abbé SICARD. Paris : Librairie Victor Le Coffre. 1894. Pp. 513.

M. SICARD devotes some hundred pages to the study of the question which has been so often raised as to the moral worth of the French Bishops before 1789. He quotes in their favour a well-known passage from Burke. Perhaps our readers will more readily recognise the passage in Burke's own words than in M. Sicard's translation of them.

When my occasions took me into France, towards the close of the late reign, the clergy, under all their forms, engaged a considerable part of my curiosity. So far from finding the complaints and discontents against that body, which some publications had given me reason to expect, I perceived little or no public or private uneasiness on their account. On further examination, I found the clergy, in general, persons of moderate minds and decorous manners. I had not the good fortune to know a great many of the parochial clergy; but in general I received a perfectly good account of their morals, and of their attention to their duties. With some of the higher clergy I had a personal acquaintance, and of the rest in that class a very good means of information. They were, almost all of them, persons of noble birth. They resembled others of their own rank; and where there was any difference, it was in their favour. They were more fully educated than the military noblesse; so as by no means to disgrace their profession by ignorance, or by want of fitness for the exercise of their authority. They seemed to me rather a superior class; a set of men amongst whom you would not be surprised to find a Fénelon. I saw among the clergy in Paris men of great learning and candour; and I had reason to believe that this description was not confined to Paris. . . . You had before your Revolution about an hundred and twenty bishops, a few of them were men of eminent sanctity, and charity without limit. . . . When I was in France I am certain that the number of vicious prelates was not great. Certain individuals amongst them, not distinguishable for the regularity of their lives, made some amends for their want of the severe virtues, in their possession of the liberal; and were endowed with qualities which made them useful in the Church and State.

But the greater portion of the book is engaged with the vicissitudes of the French prelates during the Revolution. The fall of the clergy from their position as first order of the State, the spoliation of the Church, the levelling of the bishops to the condition of salaried functionaries of the State, the attitude of the bishops towards the

new political constitution &c., are related in a series of interesting chapters.

Revealed Religion from the "Apologie des Christenthums" of Franz Hettinger, D.D., Professor of Theology at the University of Wurzburg. Edited, with an Introduction on the Assent of Faith, by HENRY SEBASTIAN BOWDEN, of the Oratory. London: Burns & Oates, Ltd. 1895. Pp. 203.

HETTINGER'S "Apologie des Christenthums" in the original and in translations has had a very wide circulation on the Continent. It well deserves the high reputation it enjoys. Its learned author was one of the very ablest controversialists of the day. He had no mean acquaintance with science, he was pre-eminent as a philosopher and a theologian; and in the "Apologie" we find the matured results of his life's thought and reading. It is a matter of no surprise then that his work is regarded as a classical and standard work not only by Catholic laymen, but also by distinguished theologians like M. Hurter, whose treatises on Revelation and Christianity abound in references to the famous "Apologie." Some three years ago, Fr. Sebastian Bowden of the London Oratory edited an English version of the first volume of the "Apologie," under the title of "Natural Religion." In "Natural Religion" the existence and providence of God, the immortality of the human soul, and the necessity of divine worship as an inevitable consequence of the relations between the Creator and the creature, are established; while Materialism, in its many forms, and Pantheism are refuted. Fr. Bowden now provides us with an English version of the second volume of the "Apologie," under the title of "Revealed Religion." "Natural Religion" was a very valuable addition to English Catholic literature, but it seems to us that "Revealed Religion" is a more valuable addition still. There were already works in English that traversed the same ground as "Natural Religion," though perhaps none that we could so strongly recommend. But we know of no other work in English that covers the ground of "Revealed Religion." "Revealed Religion," like "Natural Religion," is chiefly constructive. It demonstrates the possibility and necessity of revelation, proves that miracles are possible, cognisable, and constitute with prophecy the genuine *intime* of revelation, establishes the credibility of the Gospels and the Divinity of our Lord, and concludes with an interesting chapter entitled "Christ and Christianity." But, while chiefly

constructive, "Revealed Religion," like "Natural Religion," grapples with the theories and objections of unbelievers. Discussion of all the sceptical theories is of course impossible. Many of them may well be left to die a natural death. "Since 1850," as Fr. Bowden points in his Preface, "there have been published 747 theories regarding the Old and New Testaments, of which 608 are now defunct." But care has been taken to give the leading sceptical arguments a full and fair consideration. Indeed, no one was in a better position to appreciate the force of a difficulty than Dr. Hettinger who composed his monumental work under the fire of infidel German criticism. Fr. Bowden contributes to "Revealed Religion" an introductory essay on the "Assent of Faith," in which, with much clearness and force, he determines the precise theological significance of faith, the nature of the motive of faith, and the nature and values of the motives of credibility which lead to faith; while, in a very useful appendix, Fr. Cator criticises the "Tübingen theory." We strongly recommend "Revealed Religion" to our readers. In conjunction with "Natural Religion" it constitutes a complete defence of Christianity.

Cæremoniale ad usum Alumnorum Seminarii Archiepiscopalis Mechliniensis. Opera J. F. VAN DER STAPPEN. Ep. Titul. Joppen. Mechliniæ: H. Dessain.

The Ceremonies of some Ecclesiastical Functions. By the Rev. DANIEL O'LOAN, Dean, Maynooth College. Second Edition. Dublin: Browne & Nolan, Ltd., Nassau Street. 1895.

Ceremonial according to the Roman Rite. Translated from the Italian of Joseph Baldeschi by the Rev. J. D. HILARIUS DALE. Seventh Edition. London: Burns & Oates, Ltd. New York, &c.: Benziger Brothers. 1895.

The Ceremonies of Low Mass. By the Rev. J. HUGHES. Fifth Edition. Dublin: James Duffy Sons & Co.

Roman Hymnal. Part I. New York: Fr. Pustet & Co.

IT is seldom that we have the satisfaction of calling the attention of the clergy to so large and so useful a number of ceremonial books as is to be found at the head of this notice. Their pages tell of the zeal which stirs the hearts of the priests of God, when there

is question of obedience to the liturgical laws of the Church, or of devout reverence towards the Holy Sacrifice of the Altar.

The first-named work is the fourth and concluding volume of a liturgical series entitled "*Sacra Liturgia*." We strongly recommend it to all Seminarists. It will serve as a text-book during their training, and in after-life will prove a useful manual of ecclesiastical ceremonies. The author, Bishop Van der Stappen, is auxiliary to the Cardinal Archbishop of Malines. It is evident that the work is the fruit of the labour of many years in the diocesan seminary. The method followed is that usually adopted in guides to the duties of the sanctuary. The duties of each office is given consecutively for the whole ecclesiastical year. The ceremonial needed for small churches is also given for each festival. All this is done, as Cardinal Goossens says in his letter of recommendation, "with lucidity and order."

The second ceremonial is from the pen of the learned Dean of Maynooth College. Amongst the many blessings which Catholic Ireland has received from that great College, not the least has been a due appreciation of Church functions and a thorough love of the duties of the Sanctuary. We see that spirit deeply impressed upon every page of Dean O'Loan's ceremonial. We are glad to say that the book is well printed on good paper, for this is always a great consideration.

The third on the list is a reprint of the Rev. Hilarius Dale's Baldeschi. That this translation has reached its seventh edition speaks well for its worth and usefulness. Though the large work of Martinucci has, to a great extent, supplanted this English manual, yet we believe that Dale's Baldeschi is even now likely to be of the greatest service to the clergy, especially as the present edition contains the pontifical offices for the great festivals of the year. It reflects great credit on the editor. The printing is good, and the size convenient. It ought to be found in every presbytery and in every sacristy.

Hughes on the Mass was fifty years ago the only vernacular guide which the English clergy had for the ceremonies of the holy Sacrifice. It will be still a boon to many, if only for the valuable hints given to priests at the end of the book. It is most useful to be taught what we have to do, but it is perhaps still more useful to learn what we are *not* to do. Father Hughes gives that valuable information to all whose privilege and duty it is to say Mass.

The small Roman Hymnal, which closes the list, will be found useful for congregational singing. To many it would serve as a help to mental prayer.

Biographical Dictionary of the English Catholics. By
JOSEPH GILLOW. Vol. IV. London: Burns & Oates, Ltd.

ENGLISH Catholics are indebted to Mr. J. Gillow for several books connected with the days of persecution, but his Dictionary is the work which will make his name as familiar to their posterity as that of Dodd has been amongst their ancestors for several generations. Any one who takes up this fourth volume will naturally turn at once to the biographical notice given of the late Cardinal Manning. Though the chief events of that eminent prelate's career are well known to most of us, still the able sketch given will be read with interest by every one. The writer acted wisely in keeping clear of points which would be likely to stir up useless controversies. It would have been well if in other less important notices he had been always equally careful.

Throughout the present volume other names, besides that of the illustrious Cardinal, bring back to us the stirring days of the earlier period of the Oxford movement. We are made to realise in the life of Father Lockhart, O.Ch., the many graces that brought those chosen souls to the Church of God, and the personal sacrifices which they all nobly made to return to Catholic Unity.

Several of the Blessed and of the Venerable Martyrs of England occur in these pages. It will suffice to mention the name of Father Lockwood. The fortitude of this aged priest during his trial, and his encouraging words to his brother priest at the scaffold, when the latter's perseverance seemed to be in danger, do not fail even now to touch our hearts and to increase our love of God. No less powerful is the example of those devoted women who in the dark days of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries helped to keep the lamp of Faith burning in their Catholic homes, and whose souls were on fire with zeal for the Church's cause. Such a one was Dorothy Lawson, who built herself a house on a lonely spot by the banks of the Tyne, that the missionary priests when hunted down might there find shelter, and in a Catholic home enjoy days of prayer and peace, till they set forth again to seek for the lost sheep. Her many deeds of charity doubtless obtained for her the then singular privilege of a Catholic and honourable burial.

To come to our own day, we are glad to see a lengthy notice given to the late Right Hon. Sir John Lambert, who was in every way a model layman. Full justice has also been done to the Hon. Charles Langdale and to Mr. Frederick Lucas, who both strenuously upheld the rights of Catholics:

The large-hearted charity which has characterised so many of the wealthy Catholics during the course of the last fifty years, finds a worthy representative in Mr. Daniel Lee of Manchester. Of him Mr. Gillow says: "It has been stated that during his lifetime Mr. Lee gave more than £60,000 for building churches and schools, and for the support of the clergy, which, added to his other charities, must have amounted to no less than £100,000." Verily: "Dispersit, dedit pauperibus; justitia ejus manet."

The hard-working missionary in England, who at the present day spends himself in the duties of his charge, who gathers converts into the fold of the Church, and who wins the respect and honour of his fellow-citizens, has his counterpart in the edifying life of the Rev. Francis Martyn, whose memory still lives in the missions of the Midland counties.

We thank Mr. J. Gillow for all these happy and edifying recollections, and we wish him every success in what yet remains to be done. This fourth volume may be said to herald the early completion of his work, for we are assured by the publishers that the fifth and concluding volume will appear in the early autumn of this year.

Anecdota Oxoniensia. Semitic Series. Part VII. The Churches and Monasteries of Egypt. Edited and Translated by B. T. A. EVETTS, M.A. With Notes by A. J. BUTLER, M.A., F.S.A. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1895.

THE work, which the seventh part of the Semitic Series of "Anecdota Oxoniensia" renders accessible to English readers, is for the most part taken up with an account of the churches and monasteries of Egypt; though "the title supplied by a later hand on fol. 16 of the MS. describes the book as a 'history, containing an account of the districts and fiefs of Egypt.'" The writer of the work was named Abû Sâlih; and Mr. Evetts writes that "the composition of the work may confidently be assigned to the first years of the thirteenth century." As for the copy of the work in the National Library in Paris, to which Mr. Evetts' translation owes its origin, it was completed on May 27, 1348, "as the copyist himself informs us at the end of the book."

The present work is an abridgment of the original, carried out in a very loose way. There is a great want of order and arrangement; and a good deal of unnecessary repetition. The first twenty leaves of the MS. are lost; and M. Evetts conjectures that probably they

contained part of the history of the Armenians in Egypt, with an account of the churches of Lower Egypt and Cairo, and of the monasteries of the Wâdî Habîb.

Much of Abû Sâlih's information regarding the churches and monasteries of Egypt was undoubtedly based upon his own experience, and is consequently of considerable interest. At the same time it is clear that he borrowed at times from the literature in vogue in his time. Thus he was acquainted with the "Book of the Monasteries" of Ash-Shâbushti, the Biographies of the Patriarchs, a work called in Latin the "Annales Eutychiei," and a number of other writings.

Mr. Evetts says in the introduction to his work: "It is clear that such a work could hardly be worth publication were it not that, in the words of the author, 'he has here collected information which is not to be found in the work of any other writer.'" Doubtless the work resembles rather a note-book than a formal history; but for all that it is full of valuable information regarding not only the ecclesiastical but profane history of Egypt.

The only other work in Arabic of a similar character to the present work is the portion of the *Khitat* of Al-Makrîgî treating of the Coptic churches and monasteries. Mr. Evetts has wisely had it affixed as an appendix to the present volume.

J. A. H.

The Origin of the Prymer or Lay Folks' Prayer-book. By EDMUND BISHOP. (An Essay contributed to No. 109 of the Early English Text Society's publications). 8vo. Pp. i.-xxxviii. Published for the Society by Kegan Paul, Trench & Co. London: 1897 (*sic*). Price 10s.

THE origin of the collection of prayers for the laity called in England the *Prymer*, has long been a *crux* to liturgiologists; and, as far as we know, no attempt has been made to deal with the whole of it. The late Mr. H. Bradshaw, indeed, made the suggestion that the Little Office of our Lady was derived from a special commemorative Office of the Incarnation, to be used during Advent; but this is not merely unsupported by the evidence, but would have the disadvantage of only accounting for one portion of the *Prymer*. Mr. Bishop, as all who are aware of his unrivalled erudition would expect, has dealt with the subject thoroughly and in a way that carries conviction to the reader. His judgment briefly is this:

That the Prymer consisted of those devotional accretions to the Divine Office, invented first by the piety of individuals for the use of monks in their monasteries, which accretions were gradually and voluntarily adopted in the course of two or three centuries by the secular clergy so generally, that by the fourteenth century they had, by virtue of custom, come to be regarded as obligatory, and practically part of the public daily (or only Lenten) office itself (p. xxxvii.).

He traces clearly the source of all these accretions—the penitential and gradual psalms, the Office of the B.V.M. and of the dead—to St. Benedict of Aniane, the great reforming monk of the ninth century. It is much to be hoped that Mr. Bishop will be able to give us a longer account of these prayers, than he could do within the limits of an introductory essay. Every one would like to know the steps by which the Offices of our Lady and the dead came into their present shape—for instance, whether there is any truth in the vague tradition which ascribes the recension now used of the former to St. Bonaventure. At the other end of the history one would be glad to be told how far back these monuments of our forefathers' piety and love of prayer can be traced. There is, of course, no one who could approach Mr. Bishop in the authority with which he would deal with these matters.

Morality and Religion, being the Kerr Lectures for 1893–1894. By Rev. JAMES KIDD, B.D., Minister of Erskine Church, Glasgow. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 38 George Street. 1895. Pp. 455.

THE purpose of this very able work is to determine the relation of morality and religion to each other. The author analyses the concepts of morality and religion, and proves that, on the one hand, morality has religion as its necessary basis, and, on the other, that religion necessarily has a moral issue. Many indeed who set aside religion as superstition make profession of leading moral lives. But, as Mr. Kidd points out, to the extent that they are moral in conduct even these are under the influence of religion.

Men [says our author] are influenced by movements and principles which they do not recognise, and from which they fancy they have divorced themselves. They cannot separate themselves altogether from the ideas and influences of their time, and these have been in a large measure moulded and coloured by religion. It is, for instance, impossible in this nineteenth century of the Christian era for any one to keep himself entirely free from contact with, and even submission to, Chris-

tianity. The truths proclaimed by Christ are in the very air he breathes. It is not too much to say that the standpoint from which he must regard his surroundings has been fixed by the teaching of Jesus. As a consequence, those who claim to be able to lead moral lives without the aid of Christianity, and who offer their estimate of the world as a substitute for Christianity, are indebted to Christianity for that which gives value alike to their code and their conduct. They are, in truth, fighting Christianity with the weapons that Christianity has put into their hands. This being the case, in dealing with them, what we have to do is not to denounce them as wicked and worthless because they do not acknowledge religion, and in particular the Christian religion, but to show them that their refusal to acknowledge it is not equivalent to their utter rejection of it, that in spite of themselves they have been honouring and applying it, and that the features in their character that lend to them the attraction and moral significance are due to its presence and operation (p. 296).

Mr. Kidd is luminous in statement, cogent in argument, and candid in controversy. We consider his work a very valuable one.

Synopsis tractatus scholastici de Deo Uno. Auctore FERDINANDO ALOISIO STENTRUP, S.J., Oeniponte. Typis et sumptibus Feliciani Rauch. 1895. Pp. 368.

FR. STENTRUP'S *Synopsis* is in its method scholastic rather than positive. This is, no doubt, in great part due to the fact that the subject readily lends itself to philosophical treatment. But whatever the cause may be, the resulting advantage is great. If there is a defect in this otherwise excellent volume, it is that too much space is devoted to controversy. When our author is discussing the much controverted question of the metaphysical essence of God, he contents himself with direct proofs of his own view. But when discussing other controverted points, such as the science of God and the Divine concursus, he devotes page after page to the attempt to prove that the view ordinarily known as the Thomist view is not in accordance with the doctrine of St. Thomas, and then page after page to the attempt to prove that, in any case, it is not in accordance with sound doctrine. Fr. Stentrup is, indeed, not the only offender in this respect; but, considering the very large amount of space that he devotes to these controversies, he is perhaps a graver offender than most. For our part, we should like to see these controversial discussions altogether eliminated from manuals of theology. They do no good. Conversions in these matters are impossible; we are not aware that history records a single instance of a Molinist who has become a Thomist, or a Thomist who has become a Molinist.

Not only do these controversial discussions do no good, but also, it seems to us, when, as is usually the case, undue prominence is given to them in theological text-books, they do a great deal of harm. The student is led, from the amount of space devoted to them, to regard them as the most important questions in the treatise. This is a sad mistake and it is attended by disaster. The student's energy and attention become misdirected, given to what may be or may not be important, and distracted from what, as a matter of faith, actually is. The result is, that instead of assimilating the entire treatise and perceiving it as a symmetrical whole, he carries away with him little more than a confused notion of an interminable, and therefore, to a great extent, useless controversy. Our priests retain a good hold of their Moral theology; but we doubt whether all of them retain a full and accurate knowledge of their Dogmatic theology. The truth is, if we are not mistaken, that some never acquired this knowledge; and the chief obstacle, in our opinion, to this acquisition was the emphasis laid by their best books on the wrong place, the predominance given to questions which intrinsically were altogether secondary. But while we find fault with Fr. Stentrup, for the reason given, we are bound at the same time to admit that his Synopsis is a work of very great utility. Had he treated all the questions which, *salva fide*, may be and are controverted as he treated the controverted question of the metaphysical essence of God, his Synopsis would have been a very perfect work.

Le Saint Sacrifice de la Messe, son explication dogmatique, liturgique, et ascétique. Par le Docteur NICOLAS GIHR. Traduit par l'Abbé L. T. MOCCAND. Two vols. Paris: L. Lethielleux. 1894.

IN his words of approbation prefixed to these volumes, the Bishop of Annecy remarks on the patient completeness of a work by a German writer as contrasted with the briefer and lighter treatment characteristic of French authors; and he attributes the difference to their respective readers. "Le lecteur français est aisément découragé," he says, "et rebuté par l'ampleur et le poids des volumes qu'on lui présente"; or, at all events, so thinks the French author; the German, on the contrary, knows his friends are plodding and patient, and he writes with thoroughness accordingly. This is praise for the German; and Dr. Gihl's book may assuredly take a large share of it. It is both substantial and complete; it is the work of

a man of wide reading and also of deep piety, a very pleasing flavour of which prevades his erudite pages. The first part of the work, called "Dogmatic," occupies 250 pages, and is devoted to a sufficiently popular exposition of theological teaching as to sacrifice: its history and meaning, the efficacy of the Jewish sacrifices, the reality and character of the sacrifice of the Cross, the application of its merits, the truth and efficacy of the sacrifice of the Christian altar, the Mass. It will be very acceptable to many, even among the clergy, to have the pith of the large treatises thus readily accessible in a consecutive and readable context of sufficient fullness. The second part of this work is liturgical and ascetic, and contains a detailed exposition of the Order of the Mass; each ceremony, prayer—often every sentence of a prayer—are separately commented on or paraphrased. Whatever in the history of the introduction or development of rites is likely to interest the general reader is given in sufficient detail, together with such references to more technical treatises as will enable a student to pursue his studies with fuller effect. We begin with descriptions of the Christian altar: its decoration, the chalice, the altar linen, vestments, use of lights, finally, the language of the liturgy. The completeness of treatment in each part of this treatise may be estimated from the fact that three pages are devoted to the use and significance of flowers, and twenty-five pages to explaining the symbolism of the eucharistic vestments. Every statement made is ratified by references in footnotes, of which every page in the two volumes has its share, and the clergy will find also a happy choice of patristic extracts which will be valuable. Having got the priest vested—not without reference to the spiritual dispositions which ought to animate him—we have a section consisting of twenty-six pages devoted to the psalm *Judica* and the Confession at the foot of the Altar. This section includes a digression on the sign of the Cross and its significance and power, a translation and paraphrase of the psalm in the sense it is then used, a digression on the Doxology, and a detailed explanation of the Confiteor and its appropriateness, &c., the whole interspersed, as occasion offers, with spiritual reflections and suggestions in the spirit of piety which charmingly characterises these volumes. Patiently and with similar completeness each prayer, each action of the priest is treated in turn, to the end of the eucharistic action. An English work executed on the same lines as Dr. Gihl's, in somewhat less diffuse style, however, would be a great boon: what more instructive and interesting study for any Catholic layman or woman than a historical and devotional explanation of that august rite of the Holy Sacrifice as we have it, whose history goes back through

countless careful provisions and adaptations of generations of Popes, away into the simple brevity of the catacombs? Truly we have an inheritance of primitive prayer and ancient ceremony preserved to us through persecution and the care of centuries; not to inquire into the history of our heirloom is to leave ourselves blind to half its charms. Meanwhile we cordially recommend this cheap and well-printed edition to those who can avail themselves of it.

Tractatus de Intellectus Emendatione. Translated from the Latin of Benedict de Spinoza by W. HALE WHITE. Translation revised by AMELIA HUTCHISON STIRLING, M.A. (Edin.). London: T. Fisher Unwin. 1895. Pp. 62.

THIS is a very curious little treatise. The style is rough, the *lacunæ* are numerous, the connection between the various parts is at times very difficult to perceive, the termination is abrupt and unexpected. Nevertheless, Mr. Hale White, who is an enthusiastic admirer of Spinoza, finds comfort in the fact that Bruder has described the treatise, in spite of its many imperfections, as an *aureus libellus*. The aim of the treatise is to determine the mode of acquiring permanent joy, that is to say, the highest good. The highest good, according to Spinoza, consists in the union of mind with the whole of nature. The purpose of the treatise is, then, to set before us the means by which this union may be effected. In pursuance of this object Spinoza states the various modes by which knowledge may be acquired, and declares that perception through essence or knowledge of the proximate cause is the most perfect mode. He next discusses the grounds of certainty, distinguishes true from other ideas, and theorises upon doubt and memory; while in the second part of the treatise he attempts to discover the mode of acquiring clear and distinct ideas which shall be the counterpart of nature and give us insight into the uniformity of nature. Mr. White contributes a preface of some length as an introduction to the treatise.

Reviews in Brief.

Ben Jonson. Vol. II. Mermaid Series of the Best Plays of the Old Dramatists. London: T. Fisher Unwin. 1894. Pp. 442. —We have already noticed other volumes in this series of reprints of old dramatists. The present volume contains "Bartholomew Fair"; "Cynthia's Revels; or, The Fountain of Self-Love;" "Sejanus, his Fall." The first is a comedy which pours ridicule, rough and strong, on the Puritans, and was a favourite with Charles II. The second is a comical satire; whilst the third is an involved tragedy, bewildering for its want of division and method. Whilst questioning the wisdom of these *literal* reproductions of old texts, which contain in places language which is neither great nor elevating, we cannot refrain from a word of praise for the clearness and neatness of the production of the series.

Elocution Class. A Simplification of the Laws and Principles of Expression. By ELEANOR O'GRADY. New York: Benziger Brothers, 1895. Pp. 180.—This little book, as the authoress states in her preface, is designed to give a knowledge of the fundamental laws and principles of elocution. It is founded largely upon the method of Delsarte; and whilst we do not think that it is likely to prove handy as a class-book, we are sure that to teachers and those old enough to study for themselves, it will prove valuable for its hints and suggestions, which are as clear and practical as they are true.

Œuvres Poétiques d'Adam de St. Victor. Texte Critique, par LÉON GAUTIER, Membre de l'Institut. 3me Édition. Pp. xxii-318. Paris: Picard et Fils. 1894.—It rarely happens that an author is fortunate enough to celebrate the half-jubilee of his principal work by publishing a fresh edition. In the case of the volume before us, it is rather the lovers of sacred poetry—and they are many—who are to be congratulated on having access to an accurately revised text of the Swan of St. Victor.

M. Gautier has profited by the criticisms of the former edition of his book to correct a few details; the main part of it remaining unaffected. Of how many "editiones principes" could this be said? As we cannot review in detail, we can here only say that his *apparatus*

criticus seems to us thoroughly scientific. His account, too, is most interesting of the gradual evolution of mediæval Latin poetry, from the stichometric "proses" of Notker to the highly artistic shape given them by the Victorine poet. Adam was the Fra Angelico of mediæval poetry; unrivalled for the sweetness and delicacy of his outlines and colouring; and only failing in the description of the darker passions of a sinful world, from which he was happily sheltered in his peaceful retreat.

Histoire du Bréviaire Romain. Par P. BATIFFOL, du Clergé de Paris. 2^{me} Edition. Pp. 350. Paris: Picard et Fils. 1894. —The first edition of this book has been received with such a general welcome from all whom it concerned, that no words of ours are needed to recommend it to our readers. Although the Abbé Batiffol modestly lays claim to no higher merit than that of being a "vulgarisateur" of the labours of others, he has really done a good deal more. He has verified references, collected scattered statements on the history of the Breviary into a moderate compass, and put the whole into clear and pleasing French, so that the subject may be said to be now accessible for the first time to the general reader. He has had the great advantage of the assistance of the lamented Dom Bäumer, whose name is a sufficient guarantee of the solidity of any work in which he was engaged. Of course, in books of this kind, there are always epochs and details which have been studied with less interest and accuracy than the rest. Here, at it appears to us, it is the earlier part of the volume that has received least attention; for instance, we have not met with any mention of the accounts of daily prayer in the Acts, or in the Didache. On the other hand, the accounts of the attempts to reform the Breviary under the direction of the Council of Trent, and of Benedict XIV., leave nothing to be desired in their clear and full statement of a very intricate subject. M. Batiffol's literary taste is fully shown by the judicious remarks he makes on the "reform" of the hymns under Urban VIII., and in his appreciation of the beauty of many of the responsories at Matins, which, we believe, Mr. Matthew Arnold said were the best explanation of the Bible.

The Inner Life of Père Lacordaire. Translated by the Author of "Knight of St. John." Seventh Edition. 6s. 6d. Washbourne. 1895.—The fact of Père Chocarne's "Vie Intime et Religieuse de Lacordaire" reaching a seventh edition in its English dress proves two things. The original work must be one of merit, and the translation must be very different from what commonly passes for such. No

one who has read Père Chocarne's delightful pages will wonder at the extraordinary success the "Vie Intime" has obtained in France and elsewhere, nor will any of those who still lament the loss which English letters sustained by the death of Mother Theodosia Drane be surprised at the popularity which her spirited translation still enjoys. Hers is a noble rendering of a noble life. The publishers have brought out the book in a handy form, on good paper, and at a price which no admirer of the Dominican spirit will think unreasonable.

G. H.

An English Manor House in the Days of Queen Elizabeth. By J. R. WILLINGTON, M.A. London and Leamington: Art and Book Company. 1895.—The inseparable closeness with which memorials of Catholic faith are intertwined with the traditions of English life is illustrated in this interesting little monograph. Lyford Grange in Berkshire, about eight miles from Abington, is the manor house that forms the setting of its story, and serves as an introduction to the sketch of the martyred Edmund Campion, with whose fate it is associated. There it was, that after preaching and ministering for the last time to the little congregation assembled in secret to hear him, he was taken by a spy of the Earl of Leicester, and hurried to the Tower to endure tortures and eventually death on the scaffold, on December 1, 1581. The blood of the martyr bore immediate fruit, for a drop of it having fallen on the clothes of a youth named Henry Walpole, he was converted on the spot, and becoming in his turn a Jesuit, soon after "met the same fate on the same spot, for the same cause."

A Book of Irish Verse. Selected by W. B. YEATS. London: Methuen. 1895.—The author's admirable prefatory essay proves him to be qualified for his task of selection by the possession of a standard of personal preference, which, if not infallible, is at least spontaneous. He has compiled a very interesting volume, containing specimens of some of the best known Irish poets as to the inclusion of whose works, and the exclusion of others that might have seemed entitled to a place, he claims to have been guided by personal predilections alone.

Little Merry Face. By CLARA MULHOLLAND. London: Burns & Oates.—Miss Mulholland's collection of short tales will we doubt not be a treasure in many nurseries where her name is already a "household word." They will serve a double purpose by helping to awaken sympathy in the minds of happy little ones for the poor and

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outcast children whose lines have fallen in less pleasant places. It is of the fortunes and endurance of such as these that they mostly tell, with a grace of narration that makes them interesting reading for an older public than that they are immediately intended for. Many of them are full of quiet pathos, and all breathe a spirit of true Catholic piety, which conveys the highest moral without obtruding it.

The Story of the Expansion of Southern Africa. By the Hon. A. WILMOT. London: Fisher Unwin. 1894.—So many eyes are now turned on the long neglected Cape Colony, that a history of its rise and progress, well arranged and clearly told like that before us, cannot but be welcome to the public. Comprised in a handy volume with an excellent map brought up to date by the addition of the latest railway extensions, it furnishes all the information the general reader requires as to the early fortunes of that South African dominion which promises to be so valuable an appanage of the British Empire. Nor is the compendious narrative of recent events in its later chapters less useful, although its main features are more present to our minds. The account of aboriginal chiefs and races, too, is interesting, though the author writes as a strong partisan from the colonial point of view, on the native question, and seems also an advocate of Boer independence. He predicts that the Karoo plateau, hitherto comparatively neglected, "will yet become one of the greatest treasures of the Cape Colony," as it only requires irrigation by tapping its underground supplies of water to develop the capabilities of its fertile soil, while its dry, pure, and health-giving air renders it a suitable region for European colonisation.

Books Received.

- De Libris Prohibitis.** Rev. Augustine Arnt, S.J. 8vo, pp. 315.
- Sacra Liturgia.** J. F. Van der Stappen. Malines : H. Dessam. 8vo, pp. 332.
- Socialism.** Lord Norton. London : Percival & Co. 8vo, pp. 35.
- Œuvres Poétiques d'Adam de S. Victor.** Texte Critique. Paris : Alphonse Picard & Fils. 8vo. pp. 332.
- Napoleon III. avant l'Empire.** Tom. I. H. Thirria. Paris : Plon, Nourrit et Cie. Large 8vo, pp. 482.
- Memoires du Chevalier de Mautort.** La Baron Tillette de Clemon-Tonnerre. Paris : Plon, Nourrit et Cie. 8vo, pp. 504.
- Charity is the Greatest Created Gift of God.** Very Rev. J. A. Malthus, O.P. London : Burns & Oates. 16mo, pp. 40.
- Synopsis Tractatus Scholastici de Deo Uno.** R. P. Ferdinand A. Stentrup, S.J. Innsbruck. F. Rauch. 8vo, pp. 368.
- Les Benedictins de Saint-Germain-des-Prés et les Savans Lyonnais.** M. l'Abbé Jean Vanel. Paris : Alphonse Picard et Fils. Large 8vo, pp. 372.
- Une Ancienne Version de l'Ecclesiastique.** C. Douais. Paris : Alphonse Picard. 4mo, pp. 32.
- Italy and her Invaders.** T. Hodgkin. Vols. V. & VI. Clarendon Press. 8vo, pp. 484, 634.
- Allemagne et la Reforme.** Jean Janssens. Traduit par E. Paris. Paris : Plon, Nourrit et Cie. Large 8vo, pp. 540.
- St. Chantal and the Origin of the Visitation.** Mgr. Bougaud. Bishop of Laval. Translated by a Visitandine. Preface by H.E. Cardinal Gibbons. New York : Benziger Bros. Vol. I. & II. 8vo, pp. 478-460.
- The World's own Book in the Treasury of à Kempis.** Percy Fitzgerald, M.A. London : Elliot Stock. 8vo, pp. 100.

- Meditations sur Jésus Christ.** Par l'Abbé A. Blanc. (2^{ème} édition.)
Avignon: Aubanel Frères. 8vo, pp. 452.
- Philosophie de Saint Thomas.** La Connaissance. Par M. J. Gardair, Professor libre de la Philosophie. Paris: P. Lethielloux. 8vo, pp. 298.
- Memoir of Mother Francis Raphael** (Augusta Theodore Drane). Rev. Father Bertrand Wilberforce, O.P. London: Longmans, Green & Co. 8vo, pp. 334.
- La Domination Française en Belgique.** Par L. de Lanzac de Laborie. Tom. I. & II. Paris: Plon, Nourrit et Cie. Large 8vo, pp. 464, 408.
- Mémoires du Comte Paroy.** Par Étienne Charavay. Paris: Plon, Nourrit et Cie. Large 8vo, pp. 478.
- Ethics or Anarchy.** Catholic Truth Society. Pp. 100.
- Laurence Oliphant.** Supplementary contributions to his Biography. By Charles Newton Scott. London: Leadenhall Press. Pp. 42.
- Stenotypy, or Shorthand for the Typewriter.** By Rev. D. A. Quin. Providence, R.J. Pp. 54.
- Ancient Devotions to the Sacred Heart.** By Carthusian Monks. London: Burns & Oates. 8vo, pp. 318.
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